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For the National Era.

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GREENWOOD LEAVES FROM OVER THE SEA.

No. 24.

Rome, *December* 6, 1852.

My Dear A——: In the few brief comments which I feel inclined to make to-day on some of the great works of sculpture and painting here at Rome, you will know that I speak by no means "as one having authority," by virtue of any ripe critical knowledge of art. I should be silent altogether on these subjects, did I not observe that one's true, fresh, and vivid impressions of such things are worthy of some respect, and that a sincere and reverential love of beauty gives one an instinctive appreciation of the spirit of the higher forms of art, however deficient the judgment may be in matters of execution and detail. One may most profoundly feel effects in art, with a very limited understanding of causes.

It is rare to find an honest opinion honestly expressed, by one not an artist or a connoisseur.

Among modern English authors writing from Rome, I remember Mrs. Kemble and Mr. Dickens, as most independent and individual in this respect. They boldly uttered their true thought, their whole thought, and were evidently not to be thundered down by the canons of criticism. I do not mean this as an exordium to a criticism-contemning, critic-defying dissertation; in the little I have to say on art, I may not utter any treasons—and I may. *Nous verrons.*

Of all the antique statues I have yet seen, I have been by far the most impressed by the Apollo Belvidere, and the Dying Gladiator—the one the glorious embodiment of the pride and fire, and power and joy of life, the other of the mournful majesty, the proud resignation, the "conquered agony" of death. In all his triumphant beauty, excellent vitality and rejoicing strength, the Apollo stands forth as a pure type of immortality—every inch a god. There is an Olympian spring in the foot which seems to spurn the earth—a secure disdain of death in the very curve of his nostrils—a sun-born light on his brow; while the absolute perfection of grace, the supernal majesty of the figure, now, as in the old time, seem to lift it above the human and the perishing, into the region of the divine and the eternal. Scarcely can it be said that the worship of this god has ceased. The indestructible glory of the lost divinity lingers about him still; and the deep, almost solemn emotion, the sigh of unutterable admiration, with which the pilgrims of art first behold him now, differ little, perhaps, from the hushed adoration of his early worshippers. I have never seen any work of art which I had such difficulty to realize as a mere human creation, born in an artist's struggling brain, moulded in dull clay, and from thence transferred, by the usual slow and laborious process, to marble. Nor can I even think of it as having, according to the old poetic fancy, pre-existed in the stone, till the divinely-directed chisel of the sculptor cut down to it. Ah! so, methinks, the very marble must have groaned, in prescience of the god it held. To me it rather seems a glowing, divine conception, struck instantly into stone. It surely embodies the very soul and glory of the ancient mythology, and, with kindred works, forms, if not a fair justification of, at least a noble apology for, a religion which revelled in ideas of beauty and grace, which had ever something lofty and pure, even in its refined sensuality—and for the splendid arrogance of that genius which boldly chiselled out its own grand conceptions, and named them gods.

The Apollo I should like to see every day of my life. I would have it near me; and every morning, as the darkness is lifted before the sun, and the miracle of creation is renewed, I would wish to lift a curtain, and gaze on that transcendent image of life and light—to receive into my own being somewhat of the energy and joy of existence with which it so abounds—to catch some gleams of the glory of the fresh and golden morning of poetry and art yet raying from his brow. One could drink in strength, as from a fountain, from gazing on that attitude of pride and grace, so light, yet firm, and renew one's wasted vigor by the mere sight of that exulting and effortless action. But who would live in daily contemplation of the immortal agony of the Laocoon, or the mighty death-pang which wrings the brow of the Gladiator? I must confess that the sight of the former gives me nothing but pain—admiration and wonder seem absolutely crushed in the folds of those enormous serpents. The vain struggling of the old man, the fear and suffering of the youths, and the endless coiling of the serpents, constitute a mass of horrors which not all the wonders of the sculpture can redeem, and from which I shrink, almost with disgust.

The Gladiator, grand in his perfect humanity, a prouder figure fallen and overcome, as he is, than many an erect and victorious hero—with the rich blood of his prime trickling slowly and sickeningly from his one deep wound, is a profoundly touching, I had almost said a heart-breaking sight. And yet you scarcely dare to grieve—he is too royal for pity. The marble, age-embrowned, seems shadowed by Death's awful wing. There seems a strange stillness about it, and you hush your own breath in involuntary reverence. Here is no struggle, no contortion—the soul seems making a truly kingly abdication—the "manly brow consents to death," and yet you can see by its deepened lines, by the sunken eyes, the relaxed lips, and by the swollen veins of the extended limbs, that the very citadel of life is stormed by mortal anguish. It is impossible to gaze on the Dying Gladiator without further saddening yourself by gifting him, as does Byron, with a heart whose sweet, sad memories blind him to the dizzying sight of the crowded amphitheatre, and whose last wild throbs of love and yearning deafen him to the shouts which greet his conqueror.

In the hall of the Gladiator are several other noble antiques—a very grand Amazon, a fine Ariadne, the Faun of Praxitiles, a most charming figure, and the Antinous, considered a faultless ideal of youthful manhood. It is wondrously beautiful, but wanting in that something superhuman which, in the Apollo, almost compels a paganish adoration. The Venus of the Capitol is but a beautiful, soulless, voluptuous creature—an exquisite animal, unworthy to lace the sandals of the pure, simple, and august Venus of Milo, which, broken as it is, still stands forth grandly unapproachable among all antique forms of lovely womanhood. Near the Venus stands a most delicious group of Cupid and Psyche, whose sentiment seems to me a wonderful union of passion and purity. The expression and attitude of each figure are full of intense lovingness, childlike sweetness, and innocent unconsciousness. The soft light and warmth, the divine atmosphere of young love, seems floating about the group, the one pure sentiment pervades and permeates the two fair embracing forms. It flows in the drapery, it nestles in the hair, it is expressed in the slightest curve of each delicate limb, as unmistakably as in that fond kiss of lips which cling and cling forever.

I have seen many wonderful paintings of the great masters since I came to Rome; and from this world of pictorial beauty and power, I know not how to select the few objects on which I may presume to comment. The fairest and grandest of Raphael's exquisite creations, the sublime monuments of the stern and Titanic genius of Michael Angelo, the graceful and glowing forms of Andrea del Sarti, Corregio, Guido, Domenichino—I gaze upon them daily; they are becoming revered, almost beloved objects to me. And so I cannot speak of them *en masse*, or deliberately, but may refer to some of them separately and incidentally, from time to time. I must say, *en passant*, that I am disappointed in the great picture of the *Transfiguration*. For my soul, I cannot see in it all that others have seen—all the wonders and sublimities that critics point out and so eloquently dwell upon. For myself, I cannot recognise it as the most perfect creation, the crowning achievement of Raphael's genius. Some of his minor and simpler compositions impress me infinitely more. Nor can I find all that poets have found in Guido's famous portrait of Beatrice Ceuci, in the Barberini Palace. The upper part of the face is truly beautiful—the brow is noble, and the eyes, in the full living look they cast on you, have a sweet, appealing sadness, and mournful hopelessness, which haunt you through days and weeks; but the mouth I think childish and characterless. I cannot imagine those lips, falling so listlessly apart, ever set with heroic energy and deadly determination. I cannot believe that this expression of weakness could have resulted altogether from the past torture or the coming death-agony; and I hold to the opinion, that if Beatrice Ceuci was guilty of the terrible yet noble crime for which she suffered, and bore herself so grandly through all, as we have been told she did, then this is not a perfectly true portrait of the heroic girl.

One lovely afternoon, lately, I drove, with my friends Mr. and Mrs. S——, to the villa Borghese, where, among many other fine works of art, I saw Canova's *Venus Victorieuse*. This is an exquisitely graceful and elegant statue, altogether my favorite among Canova's female figures. For this, you will remember, Pauline Bonaparte sat, or rather reclined; and it was referring to this, that she afterwards made the famous reply to a somewhat more scrupulous lady, who wondered how she could bear the exposure—"Oh! I assure you it was not uncomfortable; the room was well warmed"—simply treating it as a question of Fahrenheit.

This villa is one of the loveliest places in the neighborhood of Rome. I shall never forget our coming out into the grounds at sunset, and the long draughts of pure delight which I drank in as I gazed around and above me. Stately trees cast their soft shadows across my path; fallen leaves, golden, and bronze, and crimson, stirred into little eddies by the rising wind, rippled about my feet—fountains murmured dreamily in the distance, and intermingled lights and shades played over the pleasant lawn. The sky was gorgeous with purple and gold, shading off into the softest lilac and the serenest blue. Wherever I looked, on earth, or heaven, there was beauty—beauty indescribable, unimaginable, and I exclaimed—"Oh! God must have brooded longer over this land than over any other on the broad face of the world!"

We have spent one day at Tivoli, where we saw the yet beautiful temple of the Sibyl, the famous grotto, the falls, the ruins—had a long donkey-ride over the hills, and pic-niced under olive and fig-trees, in sight of half-a-dozen silvery cascades. Tivoli is a striking, unique, picturesque, wonderful old place, where one could linger for months, lapped in long luxurious dreams of its past glories and splendors, where the princely villas of Hadrian, Mæcenas, Propertius, Sallust, Brutus, and Cassius, gleamed white and beautiful among its woods and waterfalls; or in quiet, ever fresh enjoyment of the indestructible loveliness of Nature.

Yesterday we attended high mass in the Sistine Chapel, the Pope officiating. The cardinals were present in strong force and grand array; and on this occasion I first witnessed the ceremony of kissing the cross on the Pope's robe, and on the toe of his Holiness's shoe. After service we drove to the Basilica of San Paolo, a large and splendid church, now being erected on the site of one destroyed by fire. When finished, this will even rival St. Peter's in beauty and grandeur. I have never beheld anything in architecture more magnificent than the double rows of pillars down the immense nave. Yet my admiration was mingled with bitterness and grief. I felt that they weighed on the crushed souls of the people, on liberty, and true Christianity. When I thought of this once noble race, oppressed, debased, beggared, and beheld this waste of wealth wrung from them by the soul-rack of superstition, all seemed to me but a gigantic mockery reared in the face of a just God, "who dwelleth not in temples made with hands!"

To-day we have ascended St. Peter's, to the very lantern. We found the ascent much less tedious and fatiguing than we expected, and that we had had but faint and narrow conceptions of the grandeur, height, and immensity of this stupendous building. It was strange to wander about on the vast roof, among the cupolas and workshops, which seemed to constitute a small village of themselves; and after having accomplished the ascent, the down look from the top of the great dome was awfully grand. The head swam, as from the height of that pictured heaven the eye fell from circle to circle of those wondrous mosaics—seraphs, cherubs, prophets, apostles—to the illuminated altar below. Yet here also I was saddened—remembering how thousands on thousands of God's poor children had groped in the profoundest night of ignorance and error, from the cradle to the grave, that this vast pile of marble, and gilding, and gorgeous colors, might dazzle the world. I remembered with how much "spiritual wickedness in high places," with how much fraud and crime, the wealth here lavished had been wrested from the hands of the poor and the deluded, and methought over such sights as these would Jesus weep tears more bitter than those he shed over Jerusalem.

We have visited the Coliseum by moonlight, and bathed our very souls in the wild, dreamy, desolate beauty of the scene. The Forum Romanum and the Forum of Trajan are scarcely less impressive at night, but I always feel and realize most in gazing on the ancient arches of Titus, of Septimius Severus, Constantine, Drusus, and Janus. What floods of glorious life poured through these in the proud old warlike days—in the slow sweep of victorious armies, or the wild surge of battle and flight, or the quiet, continuous flow of prosperous peace, or the full sparkling gush of pleasure; what countless religious and festal pageants, marriage and funeral processions, have passed under them! What stormy crowds have gathered round them! What murderous faces have lurked behind them! What stars of womanly loveliness have gleamed out the brighter from their momentary shade! What sweet childish laughters have rung through them! tumult and crime layed and avenged, lights of beauty and childish laughters quenched and hushed these many, many centuries. And the stately columns of Antoninus and Trajan, nearly as old as Christianity, yet still wreathed with rare sculptures, alive with the matchless forms of antique art—what triumphs and captivities, splendors and desolations, have ye beheld! Oh! wondrous dumb witnesses of a mighty past!

From amid the grand shadows and tender sunlight which fall about me here, I look out on the world, if not gaily, surely not sadly—in melancholy, perhaps, but never in despair—and so, I bid you adieu.

Grace Greenwood.

LITERARY NOTICE.

Romance of Student Life Abroad. By Richard B. Kimball, author of "St. Leger; or, The Threads of Life." One vol., pp. 261. Published by G. P. Putnam & Co., New York.

This is indeed a delightful book, full of tender pathos and delightful humor. There is nothing to wound, and much to please. The first adventure is one of the sweetest tales we have read for years. We noticed St. Leger, at the time of its appearance, with entire approbation; nor do we deem the work before us less worthy of a perusal.

For the National Era.

CHANGED.

BY WILLIAM ALBERT SUTLIFFE.

Ah, you do not love me now,
As you loved me yesterday;
Love hath got a frowning brow,
And your fancies go astray.

When you loved me yesterday,
All the winds were tuning sweet;
Moaning now they sigh away,
With a plaining most unmeet.

When you spake me fair and free
At our feet the sea did seem,
(Stretching on unceasingly,)
Sleeping in a placid dream.

And a tree that stood apart
Thrilled with music o'er and o'er,
From a bird whose happy heart
Streamed with rapture evermore.

Now the sunshine droppeth in
On my vision dim and gray,
And the blue sea cannot win
One sweet dream the livelong day.

Now the winds are sick at heart,
So they may not blithely sing,
And the lone tree stands apart,
For the bird hath taken wing.

Chance and change are all the creed
Which the mind will hold at last;
True in word, but false in deed,
Is the faith that bindeth fast.

But to-day is as the yore:
Dames will love, and men forget—
Hope must ever waste its store—
Brightest eyes are soonest wet.

Love will dote and hearts will break—
'Tis among the human woes;
Eyes must longest keep awake,
Longing most for deep repose.

Hearts are made of brittle stuff—
Eyes will dim with time and tears—
Shortest life has grief enough,
Fretting out its lease of years.

But I would not hedge thee in!
Go as free as any wind!
Word of mine shall never win
Thee to cast a look behind.

See if other hearts will rend,
Since thy fancy needeth twain!
See if other eyes will send
Tears as thick as autumn rain.

Go! and if I keep a thought,
'Tis the nature of the mind;
Memory of the dearly bought
Evermore will stay behind.

But to-day is as the yore:
Dames will love, and men forget;
All the story told before,
Myriad tongues shall tell it yet.

All the pulses throb with pain,
Through the weary, lonesome years;
Souls were made for woful stain,
Hearts to ache, and eyes for tears.

EXTRACTS FROM OUR CORRESPONDENCE.

Little York, Warren co., Ill., Dec. 9, 1852.—I have conversed with quite a number of persons heretofore acting with the old parties, and they say they have voted with them for the last time. They also say our principles are right, and are bound to prevail; so we ought to take encouragement from the signs of the times.

Union Village, Vt., January 10, 1853.—Our State population is not far from 320,000, consequently we have about 63,000 legal voters within our borders. Gen. Scott received 22,000 votes; General Pierce, 13,000; John P. Hale, 8,600; and *General Apathy* more than 19,000. The whole vote on the 2d of November was more than 12,000 less than it was eight years since. The electioneering in the last campaign was mostly done by the Compromise Democracy; the true Democracy had a very inefficient organization, until within about two weeks of the election. The 2d of November was a very cold, stormy day in Vermont; and this, with the fact that the State was certain for Scott, operated to keep thousands at home. We now have a good organization; our State papers are increasing their subscription lists, and a new paper of the right stamp is to be issued in a few days at Springfield. The great mass of our people are anti-slavery at heart. But you are aware, Mr. Editor, that we are a wool-growing people, and I am sorry to say that wool has obscured the vision of too many of our sturdy yeomen; but, since the recent election, it seems to be pretty generally believed that the question of a protective tariff, for the sake of protection, is a matter of past history. There are many among us who are ready for free trade and direct taxation. I am sure that the letter you recently published, from Hon. S. C. Phillips, meets the hearty approbation of the Free Democracy of this State. With the noble Senator from Ohio, we are ready to say, "We are Democrats, by the grace of God, free and independent."

Steubenville, O., Jan. 8, 1853.—Our principles are almost universally approved in this part of the State, and to this fact in no small degree may be attributed the smallness of our vote at the recent election. Leaders impressed it upon the minds of their party adherents that there was only a coloring of difference between their respective parties and the Free Democracy. Mr. Stuart, the Congressman elect from this district, professes to be with us fully in every measure proposed for governmental action; and, from a pretty intimate acquaintance with him, I have no doubt of his sincerity. It is but a few days since I presented to him a petition to Congress for the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, which he most cheerfully signed. Indeed, could petitions for this object be presented to our citizens generally, not more than one in ten would refuse to give his signature. All that is needed to insure success to our cause is thorough organization and the general diffusion of correct information.

Bridport, Vt., Jan. 3, 1853.—The remarks of S. C. Phillips, in the last number of the *Era*, speak my mind exactly. Let us follow genuine, true Democratic principles—Jeffersonian Democracy, if you please—and we shall be Free Democrats indeed—agreeing with the dominant party in many measures, but opposing them when they adopt the miserably rickety conservatism of the day.

Southport, Peoria co., Ill., Dec. 22, 1852.—The Whig party are dead, and we think Hunker Democracy will be as dead in four years more; and the next Presidential contest will be Freedom and Slavery.

Monroe Church, North Madison, Jefferson co., Ind., Dec. 29, 1852.—This township (Monroe) has doubled if not trebled its Free Soil strength during the last year. I believe about twenty-five copies of the *Era* are taken here now; whereas there were only three or four one year since. The Free Soil platform, together with the speeches of Sumner, Hale, Giddings, and Mann, have made many converts; and were the vote to be taken again, the enemies of Anti-Slavery would be surprised. The friends of the cause here intend to be well organized the coming year, and act accordingly.

P. S. The Ohio river is nearly up to the mark of 1847, causing great loss and great distress. Two or three bridges on nearly all the railroad routes are destroyed, in consequence of which many serious disasters have taken place. Many lives have been lost.

Mount Morris, N. Y., Jan., 1853.—These are new subscribers, although they have read the *Era* the past season. They are all journeymen in one shop. Last spring, they, with one of the proprietors of the establishment, clubbed together to take one paper of the three respective political parties; they accordingly took the Albany *Argus*, the *Evening Journal*, and the *Era*. They read the three platforms, and the arguments of each paper, and, as one expressed it, "*the Era beat the crowd.*" So now you have them as subscribers, and the Free Democracy as voters.

For the National Era.

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MARK SUTHERLAND:

OR,

POWER AND PRINCIPLE.

BY EMMA D. E. N. SOUTHWORTH.

CHAP. III.

The Planter's Daughter.

She has halls and she has castles, and the resonant steam eagles
Follow fast on the directing of her floating dove-like hand,
With a thunderous vapor trailing underneath the starry vigils,
So to mark upon the blasted Heavens the measure of her lands.
Mrs. Browning.

The summer sun has just sunk below the horizon, leaving all the heavens suffused with a pale golden and roseate light, that falls softly on the semi-transparent waters of the Pearl, flowing serenely on between its banks of undulating hills and dales, and green and purple lights and glooms. No jarring sight or sound breaks the voluptuous stillness of the scene and hour. The golden light has faded from the windows and balconies of the villa, and sunk with the sunken sun. An evening breeze is rising from the distant pine woods, that will soon tempt the inmates forth to enjoy its exhilarating and salubrious freshness and fragrance. But as yet all is quiet about the mansion.

In the innermost sanctuary of that house reposes Miss Sutherland. It is the most elegant of a sumptuous suit of apartments, upon which Mr. Sutherland had spared no amount of care or expense—having summoned from New Orleans a French artiste of distinguished genius in his profession, to superintend their interior architecture, furnishing, and adornment. The suit consists of a boudoir, two drawing-rooms, a hall or picture gallery, a music room, a double parlor, a library, and dining and breakfast rooms; and by the machinery of grooved doors, all these splendid apartments may be thrown into one magnificent saloon. But the most finished and perfect of the suit is the luxurious boudoir of India. It is a very bower of beauty and love, a *chef d'œuvre* of artistic genius, a casket worthy to enshrine the Pearl of Pearl river. There she reposes in the recess of the bay window, "silk curtained from the sun." This bay window is the only one in the apartment; it is both deep and lofty, and is a small room in itself; it is curtained off from the main apartment by drapery of purple damask satin, lined with gold-colored silk, and festooned by gold cords and tassels. The interior of the recess is draped with thin gold-colored silk alone; and the evening light, glowing through it, throws a warm, rich, lustrous atmosphere around the form of Oriental beauty reposing on the silken couch in the recess. It is a rare type of beauty, not easy to realize by your imagination, blending the highest charms of the spiritual, the intellectual, and the sensual, in seeming perfect harmony; it is a costly type of beauty, possessed often only at a fearful discount of happiness; it is a dangerous organization, full of fatality to its possessor, and all connected with her; for that lovely and voluptuous repose resembles the undisturbed serenity of the young leopardess, or the verdant and flowery surface of the sleeping volcano. It is a richly and highly-gifted nature, but one that, more than all others, requires in early youth the firm and steady guidance of the wise and good, and that in after life needs the constant controlling influence of Christian principle. India Sutherland had never known another guide than her own good pleasure. "Queen o'er herself" she was *not*, indeed, unhappily; but queen instead over father and lover, friends, relatives, and servants. In truth, hers was a gentle and graceful reign. It could not have been otherwise, over subjects so devoted as hers. All of them, from Mr. Sutherland her father down to Oriole her bower-maid, deemed it their best happiness to watch, anticipate, and prevent, her wants. And she was pleased to repay such devotion with lovely smiles and loving words. She was indeed the tamest as well as the most beautiful young leopardess that ever sheathed claws and teeth in the softest down. She was no hypocrite; she was perfectly sincere, but her deepest nature was unawakened, undeveloped. She knew no more, no, nor as much, as you now do of the latent strength, fire, and cruelty, of those passions which opposition might provoke. There she lay, as unconscious of the seeds of selfishness and tyranny as Nero was when, at seventeen years of age, he burst into tears at signing the first death-warrant. Awful spirits sleep in the vasty depths of our souls—awful in goodness or in evil—and vicissitudes are the Glendowers that can call them forth. There she lay, all unconscious of the coming struggle, "a perfect form in perfect rest." A rich dress of light material, yet dark and brilliant colors, flows gracefully around her beautiful figure. She reclines upon a crimson silken couch, her face slightly turned downwards, her head supported by her hand, and her eyes fixed upon a book that lies open upon the downy pillow; a profusion of smooth, shining, amber-hued ringlets droop around her graceful Grecian head; her eyebrows are much darker, and are delicately pencilled; her eyelashes are also dark and long, and shade large eyes of the deepest blue; her complexion is very rich, of a clear warm brown, deepening into a crimson flush upon cheeks and lips, the brighter and warmer now that the book beneath her eyes absorbs her quite. The light through the golden-hued drapery of the window pours a warm, subdued effulgence over the whole picture. On a cushion below her couch sits a little quadroon girl, of perfect beauty, fanning her mistress with a fan of ostrich plumes; and while she sways the graceful feathers to and fro, her dark eyes, full of affection and innocent admiration, are fixed upon the beautiful epicurienne. When the rising of the evening breeze began to swell the gold-hued curtains, Oriole dropped her fan, but continued to sit and watch lovingly the features of her lady. When the purple shades of evening began to fall around, Oriole arose softly, and drew back the curtains on their golden wires, to let in more light and air, revealing the terrace of roses, the lawn and its groves and reservoirs, and the lovely rose and amber-clouded Pearl, rolling on between its banks of undulating light and shade; and giving to view, besides, the figure of a lady standing upon the terrace of roses, and who immediately advanced smiling, and threw in a shower of rose leaves over the recumbent reader, exclaiming—

"Will that wake you? *Mon Dieu!* What is it you are idling over? The breeze is up, and playing a prelude through the pine tops and cane-brakes, and the birds are about to break forth in their evening song. Will you come out?"

The speaker was a lady of about twenty-five years of age, of petite form, delicate features, dark and brilliant complexion, and sprightly countenance, which owed its fascination to dazzling little teeth, and ripe lips bowed with archness, great sparkling black eyes full of mischief, and jetty ringlets in whose very intricacies seemed to lurk a thousand innocent conspiracies. She was dressed in mourning, if that dress could be called mourning which consisted of a fine light black tissue over black silk, and a number of jet bracelets set in gold, that adorned the whitest, prettiest arms in the world, and a jet necklace that set off the whiteness of the prettiest throat and bosom. She is Mrs. Vivian, of New Orleans—Annette Valeria Vivian—spirituelle Valerie—piquant Nan!—the widow of a wealthy merchant, a distant relative of Mrs. Sutherland by her mother's side, and is now with her step-daughter on a visit of some weeks here at "Cashmere."

"*Ciel!* then do you hear me? What volume of birds or flowers do you prefer to the real living birds and flowers out here? What *book* (pardieu!) of poetry do you like better than the gorgeous pastoral poem spread around us? *Mon Dieu!* she does not hear me yet! India, I say!" exclaimed the impatient little beauty, throwing in another shower of rose petals.

Miss Sutherland, languid and smiling, rose from her recumbent posture, and handed her the volume.

"Pope! by all that is solemnly in earnest! Pope's Essay on Man, by all that is grave, serious, and awful! Why, I thought at the very gravest that it was some Flora's Annual, or Gems of the Aviary, or some other of the embossed and gilded trifles that litter your rooms. But Pope's Essay on Man, and other Poems! Why, I should as soon have expected to find you studying a work on tanning and currying!"

"Oh, hush, you tease! And tell me what these lines mean. I have been studying them for the last half hour, and can't make them out."

"*You* studying! Ha! ha! ha! You doing anything! By the way, I have been trying to discover what office I hold near the person of our queen. I have just this instant found out that I am thinker in ordinary to her gracious majesty."

"Well, dear Nan, do credit to your post—think me out these lines," said the beauty, languidly sinking back upon her couch.

"But what lines do you mean?"

"Oriole, show them to her. Oh, never mind, you don't know them. Hand me the book, Nan! Here, here are the lines—now make out a meaning for them, if you can:

'And binding nature fast in fate,
Left free the human will.'"

"Well," said Mrs. Vivian, laughing, "it sounds very like—

And tying Adam hand and foot,
Bid him get up and walk!

And it *looks* as if it might have been written by Uncle Billy Bothsides! Ah, by the way, here he comes. Talk of the evil one, and—you know the rest. Ah, I shall be amused to hear his opinion of the sentiment in question. It is just in his way."

I am sure that I shall never be able to do justice to the gentleman that was now seen advancing from the lawn—Mr. William I. Bolling, as he called himself; Billy Bolling, as he was called by his brothers-in-law; Bolling Billy, as called by his boon companions of the bowling alley; Uncle Billy, by the young people; Marse Billy, by the negroes; and Billy Bothsides, by everybody else. He was a short, fat, little gentleman, of about fifty years of age, and clothed in an immaculate suit of white linen, with a fresh broad-brimmed straw hat, which as he walked he carried in one hand, while in the other he flourished out a perfumed linen handkerchief, with which he wiped his face and rubbed his head. His little head was covered with fine light hair, that did not shade, but curled itself tightly off from his round, rosy, good-natured face, full of cheerfulness, candor, and conceit. The damper or the warmer the weather, or the more excited the state of Uncle Billy's feelings, then the redder grew his face and the tigher curled off his flaxen hair.

Mr. Bolling was one of those social and domestic ne'er-do-weels of which every large family connection may rue its specimen—one of those idle hangers-on to others, of which almost every Southern house does penance with at least one. He was a brother of Mrs. Mark Sutherland, but no credit to his sister or their mutual family; though, to use his own qualifying style, neither was he any dishonor to them. He was a bachelor. He said it was by his own free election that he led a *single* life, though he vowed he very much preferred a *married* life; that nothing could be justly compared to the blessings of celibacy, except the beatitude of matrimony. He compromised with the deficiency of every other sort of importance by a large surplus of *self*-importance. He valued himself mostly upon what he called his cool blood, clear head, and perfect impartiality of judgment. He was not to be seduced by love or bribed by money to any sort of partisanship. And as there are two sides to most questions under the sun, and as Mr. Bolling would look impartially upon positive and negative at once, so Billy

"Won himself an everlasting name."

He now came up to the bay window, wiping his face, and fanning himself, and saying—

"Good evening, ladies! It is a perfectly delightful evening—though, to be sure, it is insufferably warm."

Mrs. Vivian immediately challenged him with, "Mr. Bolling, we are anxious to know your opinion upon these lines of Pope;" and she read them to him, and put the book in his hands. He took it, and wiped his face, and fanned himself—but these cooling operations seemed to heat him all the more, for his face grew very red and his flaxen hair crisped tightly as he gazed upon the page, and said: "Eh, yes, that's all right—certainly!"

"We believe it right, but what does it mean?"

"Mean? Why, *this* is what it means—

'Binding nature fast in fate,
Left free the human will;'

certainly—yes."

"Please to explain yourself, Mr. Bolling," said the widow, while India gazed on in languid amusement.

Uncle Billy wiped his forehead, and said, "Why, I don't think ladies understand these grave theological matters."

"No, but you can enlighten us, Mr. Bolling."

"You see these lines comprise the profoundest problems of philosophy—so profound as to have perplexed the understandings of the greatest scholars and philosophers that have ever lived; so profound, in fact, as to be quite unintelligible even to me—yet so simple as to be easily comprehended by the narrowest intellect—so simple as to be clear even to you, or to Fly, here."

This was said of a small boy who at that instant appeared with a basket of oranges."

"Fly, do you know what your master William is talking about?"

"Yes, ma'am; politics."

"Exactly," smiled Valeria; "go on, Mr. Bolling."

"*Hem!* Observe, Mrs. Vivian, that there is an analogy all through nature—physical, mental, moral, spiritual."

"Yes. Fly, listen—what is he talking about now?"

"Physic and sparrits, ma'am."

"That is right. Pray go on, Mr. Bolling."

"Yes; permit me to seat myself."

Uncle Billy let himself cautiously down upon the green turf. Valeria gave her hand to India, who stepped out upon the terrace and seated herself. Mrs. Vivian sank down near her. Oriole placed herself by her mistress, with the plume fan. Fly stood a short distance off, with his basket of oranges.

The tall rose trees, blown by the breeze, shed coolness and fragrance over the party. The beautiful variegated lawn, with its groves, ponds, and parterres, stretched out before them; and below it flowed on, between its banks of purple shadow, the limpid Pearl, with the evening light fast fading from its white bosom.

"Now, then, Mr. Bolling!"

"Now, then, Mrs. Vivian! I said that there was an analogy running through the universe of nature; thus, the centripetal and centrifugal forces, that modify each other's power and regulate the motions of the planetary systems, correspond exactly to predestination and free will"——

"Do you understand him *now*, Fly?"

"No, ma'am; Marse Billy's too deep for me now."

"And for me too, Fly; put down your basket now, and go, Fly—I dislike to see a poor child tiring himself first upon one foot and then upon the other—it puts me ill at ease."

"Yes, go! you sickly little wretch, you! I wonder how you think the ladies like to have such an ugly little attenuated black shrimp as you are about them; and I'm astonished at the gardener for presuming to send you here. Be off with you, and never show your face again," said Master Billy, growing very red in the face with zeal and gallantry.

Little Fly looked first surprised and grieved, and then penitent on the score of his sickness and deformity, and set down his basket and turned to go.

"Please don't scold him, Mr. Bolling; it's not his fault, poor little fellow. It was I who asked Mr. Sutherland to take him from the field and place him in the garden, because it is shadier there, and the work is lighter. Everybody cannot be strong and handsome—can they, Fly?" And the gentle speaker turned and laid her hand kindly upon the boy's head, and smiled encouragingly in his face. The child looked up in grateful affection; and the eyes of all the party were raised to welcome the orphan step-daughter of Mrs. Vivian. She was a fair, pale girl, of a gentle, thoughtful, pensive cast of countenance and style of beauty, with which her plain dress of deep mourning perfectly harmonized.

"Come and sit by me, Rosalie, love," said the widow, making room for the maiden, half embracing her with one arm.

The kind girl put an orange in the boy's hand, and, smiling, motioned him away; and Fly, no longer mortified, but solaced and cheerful, ran off.

"Now proceed, Mr. Bolling. Rosalie, dove, Mr. Bolling is explaining to us the two great motive powers of the Universe—the centripetal, which he says means the law of the Lord, and the centrifugal, which he says means the temptation of the demon. And we, my love, are the planetary bodies, kept from extremes of good and evil by the opposite action of these two forces. Is not this it, Mr. Bolling?"

"No, madam; no! no! no! Lord! Lord! This it is to expose one's theories, especially Mrs. Vivian there, who would wrest the plainest text of Scripture to her own perdition. No, ma'am; I was about to say that the overruling will of Providence and the free agency of man were the two great motive powers of the moral universe—the human free will, being the great inward and impulsive force, is the centrifugal or flying-off power, and the Government of God the centripetal or constraining power; that in the moral world these two great forces modify each other's action, just as their prototypes do in the material world—keeping all in healthful action. Do you understand me?"

"Do you understand *yourself*, Mr. Bolling?"

"Ah, I see you don't—women seldom do!" said Uncle Billy, wiping his forehead. "Thus, then, were man without free will—without the power of working out his own salvation, or the privilege of sending himself to perdition, if he desired it—he would no longer be a moral agent, and, were he never so sinless, he would be at the best only a sinless puppet, an automaton, and God's creation would be a dumb show. And, on the other hand, were human free will left without restraint of the Lord's overruling government, why, man would rush into all sorts of extravagances—become a maniac, and convert God's universe into chaos again. But, both these evil extremes being avoided, the Scylla of inert, passive obedience is left upon the right, and the Charybdis of unbridled license on the left, and all goes on well and harmoniously. And now I hope you understand how it is that in 'binding nature fast in fate,' God still left free the human will."

"No, I do not; it seems to me that we are free agents, or we are *not* free agents—one or the other."

"We're both, I assure you—both. Truth generally lies between extremes. I have known that all my life, and acted upon it. We *are* free agents, and we are *not*—that is to say, we are free agents within a certain limit, and no further. And observe, my dear Mrs. Vivian, and my dear girls! *within that limit we have still room enough to save or to lose our souls!*"

This speech was concluded with so much solemnity of manner that it imposed a silence on the little circle, that might have lasted much longer than it did, had Mr. Bolling been disposed to repose on his laurels. He was not.

"Now, are you satisfied, madam?" he inquired of Mrs. Vivian.

The little lady shook her jetty ringlets, and slowly picked her marabout fan to pieces.

"I think mamma wishes to know why these things need be so," said Rosalie.

"My sweet Miss Vivian, little maidens should be seen, and not heard; because, you know, a child can ask more questions in one minute than a philosopher could answer in a thousand years."

"Don't tempt Mr. Bolling beyond his depth, Rosalie," smiled the widow; and *not* suiting the action to the word, she handed Uncle Billy an orange she had just peeled.

The little gentleman received the attention with a deprecating, humble bow, and, to prevent inconvenient questioning, turned to Miss Sutherland, and inquired when she had heard from her Cousin Mark, winking with what he supposed to be a killing leer.

The beauty slightly raised her lip and arched her brows, but deigned no other answer.

"Oh, she has not heard from Mr. Sutherland for three whole days, and his last letter was but twelve pages long. I am afraid he is fickle, like the rest. I should not wonder if he were now the humble servant of some Northern blue——; it is written, 'put not your trust in'—pantaloons. Men are so uncertain," said Valeria.

"Men are so uncertain! What men? Uncertain in what respect?"

"All men are uncertain, in all things!"

"Humph, that is a totally unfounded calumny on our sex; though, to be candid, I acknowledge it is but too true of all men, without a single exception—save myself!"

"You? Oh, dear! oh! Ha! ha! ha! *You!*"

"Yes, me! In what did you ever find me uncertain?"

"In what? Oh, Heavens! he asks in what! Why, in *all things*—mental, moral, and physical! In religion, politics, and morality! In friendship, love, and truth! In war, courtship, and money! In one word, you are a thorough, essential, organic uncertainty. Other people are uncertain—you are an uncertainty. I think, in the day of general doom, you will find yourself—nowhere!"

Uncle Billy turned away from this unmerciful philippic, and again asked Miss Sutherland if she had lately heard from her cousin.

"I have not heard from him for two weeks," replied the young lady, in a low voice, and without raising her eyes.

"Nan, what would you give me for a letter?" inquired Mr. Bolling, rolling his little blue eyes merrily, as he drew one from his pocket and laid it before her.

"Oh, Mr. Bolling! have you had this letter all this time, and detained it from me?" said the beauty, reproachfully, as she took it, and, excusing herself, withdrew into the house to peruse it.

"Come, Rosalie, this night air is deadly to you, my child."

"Oh, mamma, see, the full moon is just rising over those purple hills. I only want to see it reflected in the river, and then I will come."

"Are you moon-struck, then, Rosalie? Come in; you can safely view the scene from the house. Besides, coffee is about to be served."

And the lady gave her hand to her step-daughter and assisted her to arise, and then tenderly drawing the girl's arm within her own, turned to lead her into the house. And Mr. Bolling lifted himself up, and picking up his straw hat, said—

"And I must go down to the cotton mills, and make Clement Sutherland come home to his supper. Heigh-ho! it's an incontrovertible fact, that if I did not walk after that man and take care of him, he'd kill himself in the pursuit of gain in one month. Everything is forgotten—mental culture and bodily comfort. I have to bully him to his breakfast, and dragoon him to his dinner, and scare him to his supper. If things go on in this way, I shall have to cut up his food and place it to his lips. He is growing to be a monomaniac on this subject of money-getting. He is as thin as a whipping-post, and about as enlivening to look upon. He looks like a weasel in the winter time—all skin and hair, and cunning and care! He looks as if he felt poor in the midst of all his possessions, and I suppose he really does; while here am I, without a sous, cent, markee, happy as a king, and much more at leisure; eating hearty, and sleeping sound, and growing fat; 'having nothing, yet possessing all things,' according to Scripture, and without a care in life, except to keep Clement from sharing the fate of Midas, and starving in the midst of gold. And, by the by, *that* is another heathen myth, with an eternal, awful truth wrapped up in it. Heigh-ho! Well, here's to bring him home to his supper. And a hot time I shall have of it, between him and the infernal machinery! I shall not get the thunder of the mills out of my ears, or the shower of cotton-lint out of my eyes, nose, and throat, the whole night! Oriole, is that you? Do you go and tell the housekeeper, child, to have something comforting prepared for your poor master. He's had nothing since breakfast—I couldn't find him at dinner time. He was gone, devil knows where! to inspect, devil knows what! He is the only Southerner I ever *did* know to give himself up so entirely to the worship of Mammon, and the only one, I hope, I ever shall know!"

And, having eased his mind by this fit of grumbling, Uncle Billy waddled off on his benevolent errand to the mills.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS.

THIRTY-SECOND CONGRESS — SECOND SESSION.

SENATE.

Monday, January 17.

Mr. Shields presented several petitions praying the removal of the present jail in this city, the re-construction of the chain bridge, &c.

Mr. Hale obtained leave to withdraw the resolution making inquiry into the conduct of Commodore Morgan while in command of the Mediterranean squadron.

Mr. Miller submitted a resolution, which was laid over, directing an inquiry into the propriety of recognising the independence of Liberia.

The Senate then proceeded to the consideration of Executive business, on Mr. Badger's nomination, by the following vote:

Yeas—Messrs. Bell, Brooke, Clarke, Cooper, Davis, Dixon, Fish, Foot, Geyer, Hale, Jones of Tennessee, Mangum, Miller, Morton, Pearce, Rusk, Sebastian, Seward, Smith, Spruance, Sumner, Underwood, Wade, and Walker—24.

Nays—Messrs. Adams, Borland, Bright, Brodhead, Butler, Cass, Cathcart, De Saussure, Dodge of Wisconsin, Dodge of Iowa, Downs, Felch, Gwin, Hamlin, Houston, Hunter, James, Jones of Iowa, Mallory, Norris, and Soulé—21.

After some time the doors were re-opened, and the bill providing for the establishment of a national road to the Pacific, from the Mississippi, was taken up.

Mr. Brooke submitted a substitute for the bill, providing for a contract with the company recently incorporated in New York, for the construction of this road.

A debate ensued, Mr. Brooke sustaining the amendment, and Mr. Gwin opposing it.

After further debate, it was postponed.

The Homestead bill was fixed for Wednesday week. The Senate adjourned.

Tuesday, January 18.

Mr. Bright presented the credentials of the Hon. John Pettit, Senator chosen by the Legislature of Indiana for the unexpired term of the Hon. James Whitcomb, deceased.

Mr. Shields reported back the House bill appropriating $50,000, to be used by the Executive in having executed by Clark Mills a colossal equestrian statue of Washington.

Mr. S. said the bill had passed the House unanimously, and he hoped it would pass the Senate in the same manner. The bill was then considered, and was passed unanimously.

Mr. Soulé submitted the following resolution, which was agreed to:

Resolved, That the President be requested, if not incompatible with the public interests, to communicate to the Senate all the information on file in the State Department relative to the claims of American citizens against Hayti not embraced in the reports on that subject heretofore made by the Secretary of State at the third session of the 27th Congress; and also all the correspondence of the special agent who was sent out in 1849 to examine and report upon the condition of the Island of St. Domingo, in reference either to the said claims upon Hayti or to the various applications made by the Dominican Republic to the Government of the United States for the pacification of said island.

The Senate resumed the consideration of Mr. Cass's joint resolution, reaffirming the Monroe doctrine, and applying it to Cuba.

Mr. Cass said that two Presidents—Mr. Monroe in 1824, and Mr. Polk in 1845—had announced the doctrine contained in the resolution, and had given good reasons why it should be adopted. He would not now repeat those reasons; they were familiar to all.

He referred to the correspondence and conversations between Mr. Rush and Mr. Canning on this subject, in which the latter said that Great Britain could not view with indifference any of the American States taken possession of by European Powers. Great Britain was right in thus viewing the matter, though at the time engaged in a convention that was to place this whole matter in the hands of European nations. When Mr. Monroe, Mr. Polk, and Mr. Canning, avowed themselves believers in this doctrine, he and others could well afford to abide the sneers and scoffs everlastingly thrown upon them. If the course recommended by Mr. Canning thirty years ago was just then, the reasons for it had become stronger now.

It was evident to the world that experiments were making on our forbearance, and being yielded to in some cases, events would be forced upon the United States which it were better to anticipate. He referred to some remarks by Mr. Guizot some years since, in which doctrine was laid down utterly inconsistent with our honor and safety. Public sentiment on this subject, as on most questions, he said, had long been in advance of Congress. Some years ago the Senate refused to consider resolutions on this subject.

He referred to various circumstances, rendering this declaration more necessary and justifiable than when first made by Mr. Monroe. He alluded to the recent attempt to acquire Sonora by the French agents, which act, if it had been successful, would have been avowed by the French Government, and Sonora claimed as a province of France. He quoted from various French publications, showing that the policy of France and all Europe is to check the progress of the United States. He had no doubt but that that policy would go on.

He thought any declaration of the desire of the United States to purchase Cuba as out of place in these resolutions. He was willing to purchase Cuba, but would prefer that the people of Cuba would by some arrangement with Spain, or by revolution, become independent, and then propose a union with the United States.

He commented at length upon the importance of Cuba as a military position, and one which in the possession of England would be most destructive to the United States. Spain was not in a condition to do us harm, and he preferred she should retain it.

He quoted from debates in the British Commons, and declarations by Lord George Bentinck, concerning the lien by Great Britain on Cuba; and the policy of England was to distrain Cuba, and cut the commerce of America in two.

He referred in most complimentary terms to the letter recently written by Mr. Everett to the British Minister, in reply to the proposition to establish the tripartite treaty.

He dwelt considerably on this proposed convention, and the reasons inducing its offer.

He defended his resolution against the taunt that it was a John Doe and Richard Roe notice to the world. Such a notice had been given by our forefathers on the 4th of July, 1776.

He gave a history of the progress of the country since the days of the Revolution, and its gigantic and rapid strides to power, wealth,

and prosperity, and to its advancement in political position. The right of search, long the subject of diplomatic controversy, had been settled: the practical assertion of that right again by Great Britain would be the signal for war.

He defended himself from various charges of demagoguism; and commented upon some articles recently published in the Buffalo *Commercial Advertiser*. He regretted the existence in so many minds in this country of unpatriotic sentiments and opinions. He hoped the Emperor of China would lay no claim to California; for if he did, he had no doubt there would be found many in this country who would defend the claim as against our own. He stated at length the position he desired this nation to occupy with respect to its foreign relations, and hoped to see that desire accomplished.

Mr. Butler said that he desired simply to make an explanation, which perhaps was called for by the remarks just made. He sympathized with the Senator in many of his patriotic declarations, and he did not know but what he assented to many of his doctrines. But he intended to go into no examination of the whole subject, nor to follow the Senator in the whole encyclopædia of our foreign relations. Mr. Monroe's Cabinet was composed of men of practical views; they were not mere dialectic politicians; and that declaration, as he understood it, from the explanation given of it by Mr. Calhoun, who was a member of that Cabinet, was intended to meet a practical issue then presented—to meet what was considered a practical question touching our institutions and rights. The allies of Europe, after forming what was called the Holy Alliance, feeling themselves powerful, were, in the arrogance of their power, disposed to restore the Spanish dominion in the American republics. They felt that our institutions, in their rapid growth, were injurious to them, and they thought fit to restore to their dominion legitimacy and despotism in those States. Castlereagh, who represented England, wrote to Mr. Canning, advising him of this determination; and that statesman (thinking such would not be altogether advantageous to Great Britain, and tending to involve her in difficulties) and Canning proposed that if the United States would make a strong declaration on the point, that it would not permit such an act, Great Britain would decline the proposition. This declaration was then made by Mr. Monroe.

Mr. Hale said his amendment applied this doctrine to Canada. He contended that the local position of Canada, either in peace or war, was tenfold more important to the United States than Cuba. During the election of 1848, the Democratic candidate never went to bed without the possibility of having his dwelling rent asunder by a shell from the British possessions.

Mr. Cass. I slept pretty soundly, nevertheless. [Laughter.]

Mr. Hale said the Senator slept soundly perhaps under the double assurance of being free from the danger either of an election or of wounds. The commerce of the Lakes, he was told, was far greater than the whole foreign commerce of the United States; and he would like gentlemen to examine whether Canada was not, in a military view, of greater importance than Cuba, as the whole of this interior commerce was within reach of its shores. Would it not be better, then, to tell England that she should not sell Canada? Why select weak Spain in this matter? Why not, when we are notifying the world, select the Power who is to be our competitor? Why confine this to territory south? It was time to look a little north. The Senator from Michigan was in favor of annexation and extension; so was he. He considered it a little remarkable, that in all treaties concerning territory, where it was at the North we cut off, and at the South took on territory. This might have been accidental. In the case of Maine, we sold to Great Britain that which she wanted for a military road. In the case of Oregon, where our title was clear and indisputable, we gave Great Britain three hundred and fifty thousand square miles. Had Mexico done this, according to the doctrine now advanced, it would have been cause for war with Great Britain.

We gave her Vancouver's Island, commanding the mouth of the Columbia river, also. While this notification was in hand, it would be as well to notify Great Britain that she was not to sell the Bahama Islands nor Jamaica. He then pointed out the vast benefits to result from the acquisition of Canada, equal, if not greater, than from Cuba, and followed the subject at considerable length. He also controverted the position that it was our mission to spread our dominion over the world. It was rather to show to the world that a free people, powerful and mighty, enjoyed under free institutions peace and prosperity, and could extend the same to the oppressed of all mankind, and kept always in view the great principles of justice and right.

He thought, if it was desired to test the practicability of enforcing the Monroe doctrine, the opportunity was afforded by Great Britain in colonizing the Bay of Islands, in contravention of treaty stipulations. Let it be tried at once. Why select Spain, our old ally, and who had never violated any of her engagements?

Mr. Mason obtained the floor,

And the Senate adjourned.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 19.

Mr. Foot presented the credentials of Hon. S. S. Phelps, Senator appointed from Vermont to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Mr. Upham. Mr. Phelps appeared and was sworn.

A message was received from the President of the United States, calling the attention of Congress to the claim made by the Spanish Government on behalf of its subjects in the Amistad case. The President says, in respect to the Spanish Government's demands, that its urgent representations should be candidly and impartially weighed. If Congress should be of opinion that the claim is just, every consideration points to the propriety of its prompt recognition and payment; and if the two Houses should come to the opposite conclusion, it is equally desirable that the result should be announced without unnecessary delay.

The subject was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. Cass's joint resolution re-affirming the Monroe doctrine, was taken up.

Mr. Mason said that it might become his duty, before this resolution came to a vote, to speak at large upon the merits of the subject, but he now simply desired to speak upon one point which he thought was misinterpreted by the Senator from Michigan. He desired to speak of Mr. Monroe's message asserting a principle intended to be applied to the affairs of Spanish America alone. He desired to show that it was directed to the affairs of Spanish America, and being asserted for a specific object, did effect the object intended, and had not laid idle in the archives of the nation, and that the principle asserted by Mr. Monroe could not be resuscitated by the American Government, unless the same contingencies should arise.

Mr. Cass said that he never heard till yesterday that it was doubted that Mr. Monroe had protested against the recolonization of any part of this continent by any European power. The Monroe doctrine was not confined to the contemplated intervention by the Allied Powers, because it was to continue for all time. The reason given, that the peculiar interests of this continent were distinct from those of Europe, was no more true then than now. He read from Monroe's message the emphatic declaration that Europe must know distinctly, that no part of the American continent was henceforth to be subject to recolonization by any of the European nations. He agreed with the Senator from Virginia in his narrative of the events leading to the declaration, but did not consider it so limited as did the Senator.

Mr. Soulé moved that the subject be postponed till Tuesday next.

Mr. Soulé's motion was agreed to.

The Senate took up the bill pending for a railroad to the Pacific.

Mr. Brooke's substitute was ruled out of order at this stage of the bill.

Mr. Adams moved to strike out all provisions for branches. Lost.

Mr. Chase offered an amendment which, after debate and various modifications, amounted to striking out all provisions for branches and for the termini of the road, and leaving that point open to be determined by the President after an authorized survey and exploration of the country of the U. S. Engineers.

Messrs. Shields, Bell, and Chase, supported the amendment.

Mr. Gwin opposed it.

Mr. Adams opposed the whole bill.

Pending the question, the Senate adjourned.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 20.

The Chair presented the annual report of the Secretary of the Treasury; which was referred, and ten thousand extra copies ordered to be printed.

Mr. Norris presented two memorials, praying the reconstruction of the Long bridge over the Potomac river.

Mr. Pearce presented the memorial of the ship owners, merchants, and others, of Baltimore, setting forth the evil results of the abolition of corporeal punishment in the commercial marine, and asking some substitute for it.

Mr. Rusk moved, and the bill reported by the Territorial Committee for a railroad to the Pacific was referred to a select committee of five.

The House bill to suppress the circulation of small notes in the District of Columbia was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

The California Railroad bill was taken up, and debated for some time.

The Senate then proceeded to consider Executive business—Mr. Badger's nomination.

At 4 o'clock the doors were opened, and the Senate adjourned. No action was had on Mr. Badger.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 21.

Mr. Seward presented petitions in favor of the Homestead bill.

Mr. Shields, from the Committee on the District of Columbia, reported a joint resolution, directing the President to cause the necessary surveys to be made, by competent engineers, for the best site for the locating of a permanent bridge over the Potomac; and when such site shall be determined, the Secretary of the Interior is directed to advertise for proposals, and contract for the construction of such bridge, and appropriating $200,000 for that purpose.

The Senate proceeded to consider private bills.

Mr. Pearce moved that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Executive business.

The motion was agreed to—yeas 21, nays 20.

5, P. M.—The Senate adjourned till Monday, without doing anything with Mr. Badger's nomination.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

MONDAY, JANUARY 17.

Several private bills were passed, among which was one granting a pension to Mrs. McNeil, widow of the late Major Gen. McNeil.

Mr. Dean, of New York, moved a resolution authorizing the erection of a colossal statue to Gen. Washington, the rules having been suspended for that purpose, and that it be referred to a Committee on the state of the Union—the object being to carry into effect an act of 1783.

Mr. Orr moved that the rule be suspended, which required that the resolution be referred to the Committee of the Whole.

The bill alluded to, requiring that the statue should be in the Roman costume, and be executed by a foreign artist, the resolution was amended, so that it should be in the Continental dress, and that the statue be executed by Clark Mills, who produced the statue of Gen. Jackson, recently erected.

After a short and unimportant discussion, the resolution was adopted under the operation of the previous question.

Mr. Marshall, of California, moved to suspend the rules to enable him to introduce a resolution placing ten millions of dollars at the disposal of the President; which being objected to, the yeas and nays were called, on a motion to suspend the rules; which was negatived—yeas 26, nays 115.

Mr. Polk, of Tennessee, moved to suspend the rules to enable him to introduce a resolution granting to Clark Mills $——, to remunerate him for the equestrian statue of General Jackson, recently erected in Lafayette square; which was negatived.

Mr. Polk then modified the resolution by filling up the blank with $15,000; and the yeas and nays being taken on the suspension of the rules, the motion was negatived—yeas 96, nays 65—there not being a two-thirds vote.

On motion of Mr. Houston, of Alabama, the small note bill was referred back from the Committee.

Mr. Bowie, of Maryland, objected to the procedure, as he had an amendment to propose.

On motion of Mr. Jones, of Tennessee, the special order, referring back the bill, was postponed till to-morrow.

After some other business of minor importance, the House adjourned at an early hour.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 18.

After an ineffectual attempt to secure the second reading of a bill to establish a branch mint in New York city, the House proceeded to the consideration of the Small Note bill for the District of Columbia, which, after amendments, it passed by a vote of 81 to 38.

And it then adjourned.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 19.

The Speaker having reviewed his decision of yesterday, decided the bill reported from the Committee of Ways and Means, to establish a Branch Mint in New York, did not go to the Speaker's table by the expiration of the morning hour, but that it now came up as unfinished business, the question being, "shall the bill be rejected."

Mr. Chandler said the reason for his objecting to the second reading of the bill yesterday was, he had understood it was the desire of its friends to spring it upon the House, and move the previous question, thus cutting off debate and putting it on its passage.

The morning hour having expired,

The Speaker laid before the House several communications, among them one from the President of the United States, transmitting a report from the Secretary of the Interior, from which it appears that the efforts of that Department to induce the Indians in Florida to emigrate to the country assigned to their tribe, west of the Mississippi, have been entirely unsuccessful. The only alternative that now remains, the President says, is either to compel them by force to comply with the treaty made with the tribe in May, 1832, by which they agreed to emigrate within three years from that date, or to allow the arrangement had with them in 1842, by which they were to remain in the temporary occupation of the portion of the Peninsula, until the Government should see fit to remove them.

The message was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

The Speaker likewise laid before the House a message from the President of the United States, communicating dispatches received from Her Most Catholic Majesty, accompanied by a letter of instructions from the Spanish Government relative to the Amistad case. The President says, in Mr. Calderon's communication reference is had to former letters addressed by him to the Department of State on the same subject, and an earnest wish is expressed that a final settlement of this long-pending claim be made. The tone of the letter from Manuel Bertram de Lis is somewhat more peremptory than could be wished, but this circumstance will not probably prevent Congress from giving the suggestions the attention to which they may be entitled. Referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Mr. Stuart moved to proceed to business on the Speaker's table, where, among much other business, is covered up the French Spoliation bill.

Mr. Jones, of Tennessee, moved the House go into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union on the Deficiency bill.

A contest ensued; much time was occupied in calling the yeas and nays, and the House adjourned without agreeing to either proposition.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 20.

Mr. Tuck, of New Hampshire, opposed the establishment of a branch mint at New York, which he considered would cause an unnecessary outlay of public money, and particularly as a bullion fund to the amount of two millions of dollars would have to be provided; and went into a statistical view of the subject, in support of his opposition.

Mr. Briggs, of New York, said the gentleman from New Hampshire would not have raised that objection, had he made himself acquainted with the bill, which provided that no greater amount than $250,000 should be appropriated, the city undertaking to provide for the additional cost of ground, buildings, and machinery.

The morning hour having expired—

Mr. Houston, of Alabama, moved that the House proceed to the busines on the Speaker's table; and also that it resolve itself into a Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union.

The latter motion being negatived, the yeas and nays having been called, the House took up the business on the Speaker's table; and, after a short time, a motion was made to go into a Committee on the state of the Union; and the yeas and nays having been ordered, it was negatived—yeas 59, nays 102.

When the French Spoliation bill came up, the Speaker decided that, according to the 27th rule, it came under the fifth class therein referred to, and could not then be taken up.

Mr. Walsh, of Maryland, contended that it was among the third class, in consequence of a motion having been made to commit.

An appeal was taken against the decision of the Chair.

A motion was made to lay the appeal upon the table; and the ayes and noes having been ordered, it was agreed to—ayes 91, noes 80.

A bill to prohibit public executions in the District of Columbia was then taken up, and passed—99 voting in the affirmative, and 91 in the negative.

And the House adjourned.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 21.

This being private bill day, that granting relief for losses sustained in manufacturing water-rotted hemp, which has been repeatedly before the House, came up.

It was moved to lay the bill on the table; and the yeas and nays having been ordered, it was negatived—yeas 71, nays 84.

On motion of Mr. Bayly, of Virginia, it was agreed that when the House adjourn, it adjourn to meet on Monday.

The yeas and nays were then taken on the passage of the bill; which was carried—yeas 80, nays 76.

Mr. Polk called the attention of the House to the motion he made yesterday, to reconsider the vote, and to refer the President's message and accompanying document relative to the seizure of the Eugiania and Susan Lord. He had not examined the papers, but was opposed to their being made public until an examination had taken place. He moved that the galleries be cleared; which was negatived, by an overwhelming majority.

The report of the Secretary of State was then read, stating that negotiations are in progress that it is not desirable to divulge.

Mr. Polk said, as the President disapproved of the publication of the Cuban correspondence, he withdrew his motion.

Mr. Bayly, of Virginia, renewed the motion, for the purpose of having the document laid on the table and printed; which was agreed to.

The House adjourned till Monday.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 27, 1853.

STATE CONVENTION.

The Free Democracy of Connecticut are requested to meet in State Convention, at Hartford, on Thursday, the 3d day of February, 1853, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, for the purpose of nominating a State ticket for the coming election, and deliberating upon measures necessary to the prosperity of the cause generally.

By order of the State Central Committee.

JOSEPH R. HAWLEY, *Chairman*.

AN INTERESTING LETTER from Baltimore, from J. E. S., came too late for insertion in this number. It will appear in our next.

☞ We are still able to supply back numbers to those who wish their subscriptions to date from the beginning of this volume.

☞ MRS. STOWE will soon complete the Sequel to her Uncle Tom's Cabin. It will be a book of facts, designed to demonstrate beyond all cavil the truthfulness of the representations in that great work.

It is her purpose to visit Europe some time in the spring. Our readers may expect something from her, after the work she is now preparing for the press shall have been finished.

☞ In a short time we shall have a few words to say on the subject of Organization, in connection with the dissemination of information through cheap publications.

MR. HALE'S SPEECH, last week, in the Senate, in reply to General Cass, on our Foreign Relations, will be given in our next.

The *Merchants' Exchange Bank, of Washington, D. C.*, we know nothing of. It will not be received in payment for subscriptions to this paper; nor will any other, purporting to be issued in this city or Georgetown, D. C., except the following:

Bank of Commerce, Georgetown; Hugh B. Sweeney, Cashier.

Bank of the Metropolis, Washington; J. W. Maury, President; Rich'd Smith, Cashier.

Bank of Washington, Washington; William Gunton, President; Jas. Adams, Cashier.

Patriotic Bank, Washington; G. C. Grammer, President; C. Bestor, Cashier.

Exchange Bank, Washington; W. Selden, President; W. C. Bestor, Cashier.

Corporation of Georgetown, D. C.; H. M. Addison, Mayor; W. Jewell, Assistant Clerk.

MR. WM. ALCORN, No. 826 Lombard street, is our agent for the city of Philadelphia, and is fully authorized to receipt for subscriptions to this paper.

Mr. A. will deliver the paper to subscribers, at their residences or places of business, on the payment of fifty cents per annum in addition to the regular subscription price.

Single copies of the paper may also be had at his residence.

If any of our Philadelphia subscribers are in arrears to Mr. A., they are requested to make immediate payment to him, as we have given him positive instructions to cut off all who have not paid for the paper in advance.

MR. W. HARNED, Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, No. 48 Beekman street, is our agent for the city of New York, and is fully authorized to receipt for subscriptions to this paper.

MR. S. [illegible]. NOBLE, of Ann Arbor, Michigan, who proposes to travel in Michigan this winter, is an authorized agent for the *National Era*.

TO ADVERTISERS—CIRCULATION 28,000.

Owing to our heretofore cheap rate of advertising and very extensive and daily increasing circulation, we find advertisements crowding in upon us, and occupying more space in our columns than we can devote to them without doing injustice to our readers. We have therefore raised our scale of prices, which are still lower than the rates charged by papers of as large a circulation, and have allotted but three columns to them; so that every advertisement appearing in our columns will have the advantage of being certain to be read.

RATES OF ADVERTISING.—*Ten cents* a line for the *first* insertion, and *five cents* a line for each subsequent insertion.

Subscribers who do not file the *Era*, and have on hand No. 309, will confer a favor by remailing it to this office.

THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY held its annual meeting in this city, on the evening of the 18th inst. Mr. Everett addressed the meeting in a very eloquent speech, a large portion of which, vindicating the capacity of the African race for improvement and self-government, we intend to transfer to our columns next week.

John H. B. Latrobe was chosen President of the Society, and Mr. Gurley was invited to act as General Agent.

THE REVOLUTION IN MEXICO.—*New Orleans, Jan. 19.*—Accounts from Mexico state that all the States of Mexico, except three, had declared against the Government, and affairs were in a very disturbed condition.

OUR PROSPECTS AND OUR DUTIES.

The smoke has cleared up from the political battle-field. Emerged from the Presidential contest, we have now an opportunity to ascertain our condition and resources, and to consider our prospects for the future.

It cannot be denied that the Free Democracy went into the late struggle under circumstances by no means encouraging. In the very outset, we had the mortification to see the great body of the Wilmot Proviso, or rather anti-Cass Democrats, who constituted more than half of the voters for Van Buren and Adams in 1848, wheel out of our line, and go over to the National Democracy. It was no pleasant spectacle to witness men in whose professions of regard for Freedom we had reposed a good deal of confidence, under the pressure of the Compromise, imitating the pliable self-seeking Christians of the times of Decius Trajan, sacrificing to the false gods of the Baltimore Platform, and even burning incense to Moloch in the shape of the Fugitive Slave Law. As a still sorer trial of our faith and patience, one at least of the earliest, ablest, and most eloquent advocates of the old Liberty Party, was seen foremost among the stump orators and drill-sergeants of a party pledged to deadly hostility to every form of Anti-Slavery agitation, and to the maintenance and vigorous execution of the Fugitive Slave Law. Sadder still, the mightiest intellect of the North had been brought over to the service of Slavery, carrying with him, to a very great extent, the conservatives of both political parties, and sweeping in the mighty wake of his defection, pulpit and press, as the dragon of the Apocalypse did the stars of Heaven. Last of all, the only man who, to human comprehension, seemed capable of arresting and rolling back the tide of this apostacy, and of uniting the friends of Freedom to resist, upon constitutional grounds, the encroachments of Slavery, was suddenly and unexpectedly called away from the post of duty, just as he had begun to consecrate his great talents and profound learning to the cause of pure and free Democracy. The turf, which was hardly green over the graves of Silas Wright and John Quincy Adams, was broken anew for him upon whom their mantles had fallen. The death of Robert Rantoul left the North without a leader.

Yet, it now appears that, in despite of these unpropitious circumstances, more than 150,000 votes were polled at the late election for Hale and Julian—a far better result for the cause of Freedom than could have been anticipated, in view of the facts in the case. It should in truth be regarded as a triumphant testimony to the vitality and power of the principle which underlies our movement. We have come out of the contest not only strong in numbers, but with a thorough organization, and entire unity of feeling and purpose.

Such is our present condition. What are the promises of the Future?

The Whig Party is virtually annihilated. It died with its great and brilliant leader, Henry Clay. The Hunker portion of it, not already amalgamated with the National Democracy, will naturally fasten themselves upon the new Administration, and, in spite of the jealous vigilance of its supporters of the "Young America" school, will most assuredly, to some extent, color and influence it. Progressive and liberal Democrats are thus in a fair way of being disappointed; and, before the next election comes round, they may have no other alternative than to forego their cherished principles, or stand shoulder to shoulder with Liberal Whigs and Free Democrats, in the contest of 1856, wherein, judging from present appearances, the only issue will be between Freedom and Slavery.

In this view of things, our position is one of the first importance. We constitute the nucleus of the great Free Party of the Future—the party in which the Democratic and Christian idea of government is to find its full and perfect development. It becomes us, then, to make the most of our resources, and to gird ourselves up for a brave and earnest effort, which shall at least deserve success.

We have 150,000 voters who can be depended upon. Each man of these should regard himself as a missionary of Freedom in his neighborhood, and see to it that the cause, in addition to his vote, has also his "word in season."

There are fifty-four Free Democratic papers published in the country, beside several which are more especially devoted to the moral bearings of the great question. The circulation of these papers should be extended as widely as possible. With scarcely an exception, they are conducted with ability and discretion, and not one of them could be spared. Let them all be liberally sustained, as one of the most certain and effectual means of keeping alive the interest and zeal of old friends, and making new ones.

The unprecedented sale of Uncle Tom's Cabin, making all allowance for the extraordinary ability of the work itself, is a striking evidence of popular interest in the subject. The public ear is open. Whatever politicians may resolve, or clerical conservatives preach, the heart and conscience of the nation are with us. It is our business to give direction and practical efficiency to this popular sympathy, and point out legal and constitutional channels wherein it may act upon the politics of the country.

We have many able and popular speakers and orators, who thoroughly understand the moral, legal, and political bearings of the questions at issue between us and the adherents of the Baltimore Platforms. Such men as John P. Hale, of New Hampshire; J. G. Palfrey, S. C. Phillips, Anson Burlingame, Erastus Hopkins, and Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts; William Elder, of Pennsylvania; Gerrit Smith and Frederic Douglas, of New York; Durkee, Julian, Clay, Root, Vaughn, Lewis, and Giddings, of the West, would command attention at all times and in all places. These, with many others whose names will readily occur to our readers in their respective localities, should not be suffered to remain silent. Whatever is needed to secure their services, whenever and wherever they can be employed with effect, should not be wanting on the part of the Free Democrats of the Union.

The influence of the pulpit should not be overlooked. Ecclesiastical Hunkers should be left to draw their support from their political brethren alone; while those ministers of the Gospel who have the moral courage and honesty to maintain the Higher Law of Christianity against the blasphemy and atheism of the Lower Law of Slavery, should have the sympathy and especial favor of the friends of Freedom.

The importance of securing the co-operation of the freedom-loving women of the United States should no longer be disregarded by political Anti-Slavery men. Gerrit Smith, over whose election we have all rejoiced, owes his seat in Congress to the women of his district, quite as much as to the men. The heaviest blow which Slavery has received for the last half century has just been struck by a woman, the writer of Uncle Tom's Cabin. Let no paltry fear of the senseless clamor and pointless witticisms of our opponents, or of giving offence to the sensitive delicacy of political slave-jockies and their clerical conscience-keepers, prevent us from making the most of this potent source of influence.

While our own course should be regulated by our individual convictions of duty and sense of the fitness of things, we should cultivate kind feelings towards those who, sharing our sentiments, manifest them in forms of action different from our own. Let the time past suffice for apologies or disclaimers in respect to our fellow-laborers. If our neighbor casts out devils after a fashion of his own, let us not stop by the way to criticise his *modus operandi*. So long as two out of three of the pulpit and newspaper organs of Evangelical Churches in this country are in fellowship with slaveholders, cite Scripture in palliation of Slavery, and counsel active support of the Fugitive Slave Act, which abrogates the Law of Love, repeals the Ten Commandments, and renders the Sermon on the Mount a treasonable document, it is scarcely worth while to join them in heresy-hunting, and in denouncing a few well-known reformers, who have unfortunately given too much credit to these Pro-Slavery Biblical commentators to feel safe in relying upon the infallibility of a Book so sadly perverted.

Freedom Clubs or Societies, male and female, should be formed, wherever practicable.

The speeches of Giddings, Mann, and Rantoul, and especially the lucid, eloquent, and conclusive argument of Senator Sumner, against the Fugitive Slave Law, should be placed in the hands of all who are willing to read and examine for themselves.

To accomplish these and similar objects, funds are needed, to be placed in the hands of State Central Committees, or expended directly by the particular associations in which they are raised. ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS annually, for the next four years, could be well applied; and this sum could be raised without serious sacrifice on the part of the Anti-Slavery men and women of the United States.

In offering these brief hints with reference to the associated action of the friends of Freedom, we do not forget that the main reliance of the cause must be upon individuals, acting in accordance with the special monitions of their consciences, and their own distinctive ideas of duty. Organization the most perfect will prove but a dead machine, unless, as in the vision of the Oriental Prophet, there is "a spirit within the wheels"—unless the hearts and consciences of the individuals who compose it are moved and animated by the highest motive of human action—Love to God, and love to Man.

J. G. W.

THE TRUE FOUNDATION OF SLAVERY.

The *Richmond* (Va.) *Examiner* is one of the boldest of Pro-Slavery papers. Its editor is ready and fluent, piquant, and sarcastic. A recent number of his paper contains an elaborate dissertation on "The Right of Negro Slavery," occasioned by an editorial in the *New York Tribune*. He thinks that in all the discussions concerning the vexed question of Slavery, there has been "an avoidance of the true issue;" that "the battle has been fought on false ground;" "hence," he adds, "while the Constitution is granted to be on the Southern side, while the common sense of the masses sturdily justifies the existence of the institution, and while the partialities of birth and education incline us to look favorably on the efforts of our own champions—we are compelled to admit that their adversaries have hitherto had much the best of the debate."

A broad admission, that on every ground on which the controversy has hitherto been carried on, the Anti-Slavery men have had the best of the argument.

He proceeds to expose the fallacy of those who would justify Slavery on the plea of *necessity*. He scouts the pretence set up that "the condition of the negro in slavery" is "a sort of paradisaical state." He discards as worthless the arguments of "a Carolinian" and others, who undertake to prove that "in matters of physical and moral comfort" the slave is "better off than the day-laborers of other countries." In a word, he denounces as inconclusive all the ordinary argnments advanced in defence of Slavery, and states the naked question at issue, fairly and squarely, just as an Anti-Slavery man would present it. "Even could we prove," he says, "that the slave physically and morally is better off than the day-laborer of other countries, twenty times over, we would not touch the root of the evil, the thing that lies at the bottom of all the cup, the fact which sustains all the sentiment and all the slander of the other side."

And why? Hear the answer; it is precisely such as an Abolitionist would give:

"The white peasant *is free*, and if he is a man of will and intellect, *can rise in the scale of society; or at least his offspring may. He is not deprived by law of those 'inalienable rights,' 'liberty and the pursuit of happiness,' by the use of it.* But here is the essence of slavery—*that we do declare the negro destitute of these powers. We bind him by law to the condition of the laboring peasant forever, without his consent; and we bind his posterity after him.* Now, the true question is, *have we a* RIGHT *to do this? If we have not, all discussions about his comfortable situation, and the actual condition of free laborers elsewhere, are quite beside the point. If the negro has the same right to his liberty and the free pursuit of his own happiness that the white man has, then we commit the greatest wrong and robbery to hold him a slave—an act at which the sentiment of justice must revolt in every heart—and negro slavery is an institution which that sentiment must sooner or later blot from the face of the earth.*"

The italicizing is ours. The passage is remarkable, emanating as it does from one of the boldest and ablest defenders of Slavery. Sophistry is spurned, and the question is stated frankly and clearly. It is not, what is *expedient*, or what seems *necessary*, or *how* is the negro fed, clothed, housed, treated generally; but, "have we a *right* to bind in Slavery, by law, and forever, the negro and his posterity?" The answer to this depends upon the fundamental question—"Has the negro the same right to his liberty and the free pursuit of his own happiness that the white man has?" If he has, "then we commit the greatest wrong and robbery to hold him a slave."

Having thus stated the question, the *Examiner* asserts that the negro has no such right. And why? *Because he is not a man*. On this single assumption the editor rests the whole structure of slavery:

"The foundation and the right of negro slavery is in its utility and the fitness of things. It is the same right by which we hold property in domestic animals. We take away the liberty of the horse, the sheep, the cow, the dog, when we reclaim them from wild nature, and reduce them to service; but it is good for both man and beast that we should do it, and therefore it is quite right. The true defence of negro slavery is to be sought in the sciences of ethnology and natural history. The last defines the negro to be the connecting link between the human and brute creation. The order of nature consists of infinite gradations; there are no abrupt endings and beginnings, separated by an empty interval. From the lowest zoophyte up to the Caucasian man himself, the transition is conducted through imperceptible degrees. If between man and brute there should be a 'great gulf fixed,' in that fact Nature would desert her rule, and the analogy of the universe would be set at naught. But we will find no such interval, when we use our eyes and our common sense. From the most powerful family of the white race, we proceed by regular steps to the lowest type of the dark race, which is the negro; and close to him we find the chimpanzee of his native country, the first step in what we call brute creation. The difference between the last of the one series and the first of the other, is not greater—hardly so great—as between the last and the first of the human family itself. To place the two on an equality; to treat two creatures so utterly different as the white man and negro man on the same system; to claim for them the same sphere of action; to call on them to exercise the same powers and do the same actions, is an effort to violate elementary laws, and to alter the course of Nature; and that, we all know, can never be done at all, and never attempted, without incurring the penalties of pain, misery, and destruction.

"All arguments drawn from principles invented and intended for the white man, like the aphorisms of our Declaration of Independence, are, when applied to the negro, illogical. They involve the assumption that the negro is the white man, only a little different in external appearance and education. But this assumption cannot be supported. Ethnology and anatomy, history and daily observation, all contradict that idea in a way about which there can be no mistake. It is an assumption founded on an utter ignorance of the animal in whose supposed behalf it is made. Again and again we repeat it, the negro is not the white man. Not with more safety do we assert that a hog is not a horse. Hay is good for horses, but not for hogs. Liberty is good for white men, but not for negroes."

The opponents of Slavery would rejoice if all its defenders, driven at last from every refuge, from every plea in justification or extenuation, drawn from expediency, from interest, from necessity, from humanity, from Scripture, were compelled to rest their entire defence of the system upon the bold assumption that, THE NEGRO IS NOT A MAN! The *Examiner* is logical, whatever we may think of the assumption. On no other foundation can Slavery be justified. Admit that the negro is a man, and it follows inevitably that to deprive him of any of the inalienable rights of a man, is a wrong without justification or apology.

Now, we shall not go to natural history, or anatomy, or ethnology, to ascertain whether the assumption of the *Examiner* be true or false. The inquiry is not at all necessary, however amusing it might be. We would look at it in a more practical light, and ask our Southern Pro-Slavery friends a few questions.

If the negro is not a man, why do you make him a subject of *Law*? Do you legislate for *animals*? You whip a slave for stealing, hang him for murder: is an ox capable of stealing or murder? Why fasten moral responsibility on him if he be not a *man*? You even hold him to a greater responsibility than the white man, require more of him, for your laws punish him capitally for offences for which, when committed by the white man, imprisonment is the sole penalty.

Free colored men earn wages in the South, hold property, marry and enjoy the rights of marriage. Does not your law secure them their wages? Does it not regulate the descent of their property? May they not bequeath it as they please? May they not sue and be sued? Has not the wife of a free colored property-holder her rights, as secured by law to the wife of the white man? In Clark county, Virginia, the largest property holder is a colored man? Do your animals hold property, work for wages, pay taxes, appear as parties in courts of justice, marry and bring up children? If the assumption of the *Examiner* be true, your legislation, as it affects the colored man, is the baldest absurdity ever devised by the folly of man.

Again: there is a partial commixture of the white and negro at the South. If the negro be not a man, how are we to regard this amalgamation? We know how the Institutes of Moses characterized and punished such an unnatural crime. A word to the wise is sufficient.

What say the Colonizationists of the South to this bold proposition? They tell us that the colored man is capable of indefinite improvement; that in this country he is kept down merely by competition with a superior race; that, transplanted to Africa, he rises at once to the dignity of manhood. They boast of his rapid progress in his new home, and point us to his free institutions, his arts and arms, as monuments of their well-directed philanthropy. Are *animals* capable of self-government, of voluntary systematic labor, of free institutions, of voting, of bearing arms, of reading and writing, of arts and commerce?

Southern statesmen claim that to this Government belongs the honor of first suggesting that the slave trade be deemed and treated as piracy. Would they hang as pirates the adventurer that should trade in the animal or vegetable productions of the African coast?

If the assumption of the *Examiner* be sound, our laws and treaties which regard the slave trade as piracy are a disgrace to the humanity of the age—the punishment inflicted upon those engaged in it is infamously cruel. Such a trade might be obstructed as unprofitable; but to punish it as a felony can be justified only on the assumption that the *negro is a man*.

Southern Methodists, Episcopalians, Baptists, Presbyterians, regard the slaves as fit subjects for missionary work. They send teachers and preachers among them—they baptize them, admit them to their communion, instruct them in the truths of Revelation, inculcate upon them that "as in Adam all died, so in Christ all shall be made alive;" that "with God is no respect of persons;" that "all have sinned and come short of his glory;" that there is one Humanity, "one God, one faith, one baptism." What are they about? Preaching Christ to brutes—baptizing brutes—ministering the Lord's Supper to brutes—inculcating faith and hope and charity upon brutes—enrolling animals in their lists of church members? Aye, if the dogma be true that *negroes are not men*.

What then? The Richmond *Examiner* scouts every defence or apology which the statesmen, philanthropists, and religionists of the South have set up in behalf of Slavery, and asserts that it can be maintained alone upon the assumption that the *negro is not a man*—a dogma which confronts and repudiates as absurd the whole course of legislative, social, and religious action of the South, bearing upon his nature and condition.

Have we not a right to rejoice? All we have to do is, to set off the *common sense* of Southern men against the *dogma* of the *Examiner*, and the *logic* of the *Examiner* against the *false reasoning* of Southern men. Their *common sense* and its *logic* are with us: all that is against us is, the *false principle* of the one, and the *bad logic* of the other. We hope the *Examiner* will convince the Southern People that their reasoning is illogical, and that the Southern People will convince the *Examiner* that its assumption is abominable.

A FREEMAN RECLAIMED FROM BONDAGE.—Mr. H. B. Northrup, of Washington county, N. York, arrived at the Carolina Hotel, in this town, on Saturday morning, en route from Red River, via New Orleans, Mobile, and Charleston, for New York. Mr. N. is an agent, appointed in November last by the Governor of the State of New York, with instructions to proceed to the State of Louisiana, and recover from servitude a free colored citizen of New York, who was kidnapped in 1841, and sold as a slave to Edwin Epps, of the parish of Avoyelles, Louisiana, where he has remained until the 3d inst. Legal proceedings were instituted in that parish by the agent, in behalf of the negro, against Mr. Epps, and an order was granted by the court to have the colored man sequestered and kept by the sheriff until the suit could be tried, in April next. The day after the sequestration, the parties and their respective counsel met the agent at Marksville, and after examining the evidence produced by the agent in favor of the freedom of the negro, the defendant's counsel stated to the client that the case was a plain one, and the man should be at once given up, without further legal proceedings or expense. This advice was followed, and the agent now has the colored man in his charge.—*Wilmington, (N. C.) Com., Jan. 18.*

The New York *Times* contains a full account of this interesting case, which will appear in our next number.—*Ed. Era.*

POLITICS—PRINCIPLE VS. PRACTICE.

The establishment of the French Empire, with its almost autocratic Constitution, is of evil omen. It stands upon popular suffrage, indeed, and so far confesses the popular sovereignty in theory; in effect, it is a nullified abstraction; but even if the principle held its latent force for the proper occasions, it is no more promising for future changes than the intrinsic instability of the French character. The first Napoleon, and the Citizen King, Louis Philippe, as well as the present usurper, broke through the rule of legitimacy with impunity. The Dutch dynasty of England obtained the crown by election in the revolution of 1688; and, again, the Hanoverian succession was settled by Parliament, representing the people, in 1701.

The catastrophe of Louis Napoleon's coronation is not at all relieved by the fact of his election to the throne. Monarchy is but little concerned about the links in its chain of title, if only its conditions and powers are satisfactorily settled. The *coup d'etat* of December, 1851, was very cordially received by the despotisms of Europe, and the Empire is already formally acknowledged by all the Kingdoms and States concerned in the matter; and nothing threatens disturbance of the present order, or promises advantages to popular liberty, in the immediate future, except conflicts of interest and ambition among the rulers themselves. The refugee republicans of 1848 are in the deepest despair.

Nations, like individuals, feel oppression, and resist it, either in a passion or with a purpose based upon principle, as may result from their character or from circumstances. Insurrections and rebellions are as natural as disobedience; they are often nothing else. Communities are made up of individuals, and are just so much more of the same thing; and it depends upon intrinsic character whether a successful rising turns out a *revolution* or a *row*. Forms of government are questions of blood and creed, more than is commonly thought. Republican freedom and the *spirit* of Protestantism, or the right of self-government in civil affairs, and of private judgment in religion, go together, and illustrate the results of race and creed combined, both in the ancient world and in the modern. Infidel Greece, Rome, and France, and Protestant Britain and America, show a similar repugnance to the divine right of Hierarchy and Monarchy. The historic examples show that the religious institutions and the civil constitution of a people correspond closely. Blood and temperament are not so steady, though they give the law and control the destiny in the long run, however they may occasionally suffer a temporary suspension of influence. The people who appoint their priests will elect their Governors. A Protestant Prince is but a symbol of sovereignty; the Executive Ministry must represent and obey the Commons. Ecclesiastical independence and supremacy consorts with political absolutism. Governments sacred and secular, which do not ask the people's leave to be, on the one side—on the other, Rulers and Priests, mere ministers of the popular will. Thus, those nations who form their own religion, and those who acknowledge none, are politically free. Freedom in religion makes unbelief possible. Submission to authority secures faith, and tends to superstition and slavery in all its forms. Atheism and Fetichism are respectively the ultimate abuses of which the opposite principles are capable in religion; in politics, they run out into pure Democracy and absolute despotism.

There may be an absolutely best form of Government for all men, but it is, nevertheless, clear that special adaptation and present practicability decide the relative excellence of systems for the various kindreds of men. It is not a question whether freedom is best for any people, but how freedom and order can best be balanced, where a people are less capable, and harmonized where they are fully fitted for democratic institutions.

It is very certain that more than twenty centuries ago the rights of man were well enough understood to get a fair recognition in the forms of civil government among highly cultured people. Some of the ancient States were very pure democracies. Among barbarous tribes, civil liberty, suffrage, and eligibility, are almost universal. Fitness is right with them. Perhaps the masses are never anywhere without the knowledge of the first principles of political justice, or indifferent to the advantages of personal and civil freedom. If it can be said of our slaves, that they so far desire as to be capable of enfranchisement, the sentiment cannot be denied to any people under the sun. Mere selfishness and wilfulness are enough to inspire the wish, and a very little understanding is sufficient to underpin it with logical principles. Doubtless, the aspiration for liberty is instinctive in every human breast; and among every people there is philosophy enough to digest the impulse into a system of doctrines.

Democracy is, therefore, not a discovery so recent or so local that its happy realization among us must needs be followed like a brilliant star just risen in the heaven of human hope. A few wise men of the East may come to worship where the young child is laid in its cradle, but the nations will pursue their favorite idolatries none the less.

Psychological constitution, climate, and other material conditions, determine the social and civil institutions of men. Monarchy suits not with one kindred, democracy is ill-suited to another. These differences, with their intervening shades, are demonstrated by a sufficient experience, and they seem inevitable because they are constitutional; but there is no ground in all this for despair; oppression is not, therefore, the fixed fate of any people.

Feudalism reigned over all central Europe during the middle ages. It must have had some sort and degree of adaptation to the people, and some correspondence to their necessities and interests—even to the very lineage from which our own republicanism springs. Somehow, our freedom grew up in that bondage; and the fact that such slavery and such emancipation and freedom are true of the same stock of men, though separated by a long interval and many changes, suggests the possibility and the prospect of some harmonious mixture of these antagonist forms, which may combine their several adaptations, and give us an eventual higher form of civil polity than any yet known—the feudal order to adjust government to the varied capabilities of the subjects, the democratic principle of election or appointment, modified in some fashion, which shall secure the essential liberty of the subject, while the elective franchise is guarded against the abuses of incompetency. Such conciliation of liberty and order is certainly not impossible, for, if it were, the equities of civil rights and the obligations of civil duty must remain im-

practicable among men till the millennium—a doctrine not to be tolerated, because it justifies oppression, and makes the wrongs of the masses inevitable, and therefore relatively just.

Democracy, direct or representative, is possible and expedient in the most advanced societies for its mature members; but in a high civilization, with its vast interests and complex functions, about four-fifths of the population are excluded from the exercise of government by the legal disqualifications of sex, minority, and alienage. In New York, where suffrage is nearly what is called universal, only one-fifth of the whole people are voters. In England, Wales, and Scotland, the number of registered voters in 1851 was but one in forty-one of the whole population, (half a million out of twenty-one millions,) and the votes actually polled in 1852 were but one in sixty-seven.

The abstract principle that Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, as yet, receives only a constructive, and not a practical or veritable allowance in the freest Governments of the earth. It is obvious that representative democracy, as we have it, is not capable, even among ourselves, of a rigid realization. How much less so in Southern Europe, the East Indies, and Africa! Republican America has not yet discovered or employed the method by which every one of the governed may have an actual voice in his own Government; because, by our system, the suffrage in general elections also confers the power upon each voter of governing others as well as himself; and for this, a safe amount of qualification is required, and the exclusion of the incompetent rendered expedient and necessary.

Such a system always fails where the masses are ignorant and degraded, as in Mexico and France; witness in the latter, seven millions of votes for the new Empire, and a half million of soldiers to enforce the people's will upon themselves!

The puzzle is, that the broad principle is true, but the conforming fact quite impracticable in the circumstances where it is required; and the mischief is, that the constant failures in endeavored realization cheat the revolutionists of their hope, and shake the faith of just men in the great truth which they worship.

If I leave these points stand as an unresolved riddle, the facts of history are just as perplexing. The truths involved serve only for criticism. The principles, which should serve for construction are to be discovered. Allow me to say now, that the communities of men, as they are in the earth, are capable of both liberty and order. My complaint is made only against the received science of civil society, and not a tithe of the objections are yet named.

SENIOR.

THE INDEPENDENT DEMOCRACY OF OHIO,

Held its State Convention at Columbus, January 13, 1853. President, Jacob Brinkerhoff; Vice Presidents, Thomas Lee and Adams Jewett; Secretaries, James Walker, A. N. Shephard, and Conrad Mann. A committee of seven, of which Judge Spalding was chairman, reported a series of resolutions, as follows:

"1. That slavery, wherever it exists, is a sin against God, and a crime against man, and will sooner or later destroy any people or Government which upholds or perpetuates it.

"2. That as Congress has no power to create or sanction slavery, and as the Constitution of the United States expressly denies to the General Government all power to deprive any 'person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law;' therefore, wherever slavery or the slave trade exists by enactments of Congress, or of Legislatures deriving their powers from the General Government, it is clearly in violation of said Constitution, and ought immediately to cease.

"3. That the Federal Government is one of limited powers, derived solely from the Constitution, and the grants of power therein ought to be strictly construed, by all the departments and agents of the Government; that there is no power granted therein to pass laws for the return of fugitive slaves, and that the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 is repugnant to the Constitution, to the principles of the common law, to the spirit of Christianity, and to the sentiments of the civilized world, and has not been, and cannot be generally enforced; and, like all other unconstitutional and unchristian laws, is not binding upon the people, and ought to be repealed.

"4. That the doctrine that any human law is a finality, and not subject to modification or repeal, is not in accordance with the creed of the founders of our Government, and is dangerous to the liberties of the people; and that one Congress cannot make compromises binding upon future Congresses.

"5. That it is the duty of the General Government, while moving strictly within its constitutional powers, and exercising no doubtful ones, to exert its influence on the side of freedom in this and all other lands.

"6. That every nation has a clear right to alter or change its own Government, and to administer its own concerns, in such manner as may best secure the rights and promote the happiness of the people; and foreign interference with that right is a dangerous violation of the law of nations, against which all independent Governments should protest, and endeavor by all proper means to prevent; and especially is it the duty of the American Government, representing the chief Republic of the world, to protest against, and by all proper means to prevent, the intervention of Kings and Emperors against nations seeking to establish for themselves republican or constitutional Governments.

"7. That while the Federal Government should faithfully adhere to the laws of nations, and fulfil its treaty obligations, and should not interfere in the internal affairs of other nations, yet it is the right and privilege of every citizen of the United States to leave his country and go where he pleases, and, upon his own responsibility, aid any people whatever, in throwing off the shackles of tyranny, and establishing free institutions for themselves, and that the Federal Government has no right to prevent him from thus acting.

"8. That one of the most happy features of our Government is its capacity of expansion, and that it is both the dictate of duty and of policy to open our arms to receive under our national flag any people on this continent, or its adjacent islands, who form a Republican Government based upon the principles of the Declaration of Independence; but that we will fight now and evermore against the admission of any more slave States or slave territory.

"9. That we recommend the introduction into all treaties hereafter to be negotiated between the United States and foreign nations, of some provision for the amicable settlement of difficulties by a resort to decisive arbitration.

"10. That freedom of speech and of the press are inestimable rights, guarantied by the Constitution, necessary safeguards of liberty, and we will ever war against their being overthrown or curtailed by the enactment of any legislative body or political Convention.

"11. That all men have a natural right to a portion of the soil, and that as the use of the soil is indispensable to life, the right of all men to the soil is as sacred as their right to life itself.

"12. That the public lands of the United States belong to the people, and should not be sold to individuals nor granted to corporations, but should be held as a sacred trust for the benefit of the people, and should be granted in limited quantities, free of cost, to landless settlers.

"13. That a sound administrative policy demands that the funds of the General and State Governments be kept seperate from banking institutions, that inland and ocean postage should be reduced to the lowest possible point, and that the franking privilege be abolished; that no more revenue should be raised than is required to defray strictly the necessary expenses of the public service, and to pay off the public debt; and that the power and patronage of the Government should be diminished by the abolition of all unnecessary offices, salaries, and privileges; and by the election by the people of all civil officers in the service of the United States, so far as may be consistent with the prompt and efficient transaction of the public business.

"14. That River and Harbor Improvements, when necessary to the safety and convenience of commerce with foreign nations or among the several States, are objects of national concern, and it is the duty of Congress, in the exercise of its constitutional powers, to provide for the same.

"15. That emigrants and exiles from the Old World should find a cordial welcome to homes of comfort and fields of enterprise in the New; and every attempt to abridge the privilege of becoming citizens and owners of the soil among us, ought to be resisted with inflexible determination.

"16. That the property of individuals and of corporations should be taxed equally.

"17. That sound policy requires a system of free trade with all nations that will trade free with the United States; and that the only fair and just mode of raising a revenue for national service is that which by the Constitution is made the equivalent for slave representation—DIRECT TAXATION.

"18. That the Free Democratic party is not organized to aid either the Whig or the Democratic wing of the great Slave Compromise party of the nation, but to develop, in its purity and truth, 'the free, living sentiments of AMERICAN DEMOCRACY.'

"19. That the Constitution of this State ought to be so amended as to provide for the election of members of our Legislature from single districts, and for removing all distinctions on account of color, in the enjoyment of the elective franchise.

"20. That the Legislature of this State ought to provide by law, and without delay, for securing to the inhabitants of the State the full benefit of the writ of habeas corpus, and of the right of trial by jury in all cases where their personal liberty may be called in question, under the 'Fugitive Law,' or otherwise.

"21. That we inscribe on our banner—FREE SOIL, FREE THOUGHT, FREE SPEECH, FREE LABOR, and FREE MEN—and we fling it to the breeze, with an humble trust that the God of the Oppressed will put it in the hearts of the people to uphold it."

Mr. Root, on behalf of the minority of the committee, reported the Pittsburgh Platform, with a resolution in favor of additional postage, and one proposing the abolition of the franking privilege.

A warm discussion took place, on the propriety of introducing the resolution respecting Free Trade into the creed of the Party. Mr. Root opposed it strongly; Judge Spalding as strongly insisted upon it. Some, though favorable to free trade, feared a declaration on the point might disturb the harmony of the organization; others were not prepared to sustain the doctrine; the majority, however, were in favor of the resolution.

The debate was long and heated. A motion to rescind was lost, and at last the entire report of the committee was agreed to.

Samuel Lewis, the long-tried champion of human rights, was nominated for the office of Governor, with great enthusiasm. He stoutly resisted the nomination; but the Convention constrained him at last to accept.

Hon. Benjamin Bissell was then nominated for Lieutenant Governor; Reuben Hitchcock, Supreme Judge; Cooper K. Watson, Attorney General; W. H. Graham, Secretary of State; J. W. Chaffer, Treasuser; A. O. Blair, Board of Public Works.

Judge Spalding offered a series of resolutions endorsing the course of Messrs. Chase, Giddings, and Townshend; also recommending the support of Free Democratic papers; also recommending and urging the nomination of Free Democratic county tickets.

These resolutions were not merely formal. They were discussed at length, and Messrs. Lewis, Parrish, Spalding, Wade, and others, took occasion to express their entire confidence in the gentlemen named, and their high appreciation of their services. The resolutions were then adopted.

The following gentlemen were appointed the State Central Committee:

L. L. Rice, J. M. Westwater, and J. H. Coulter, of Columbus, Franklin county; A. Jewett, of Montgomery county; H. E. Payne, of Cuyahoga county.

A resolution censuring the United States Senate for its proscriptive course in refusing to put any of the Free Democratic Senators on committees, was offered and adopted.

Mr. Hamlin called the attention of the Convention to the new Free Democratic paper at the capital. The sum of $1,500 had been raised as a fund to fall back upon in case of necessity, and to insure every subscriber that he would get his paper for the year. We must have one thousand subscribers—six hundred are already on the books, the other four hundred must be raised at once, and the enterprise be started. He offered a resolution, to the effect that it was vitally important to sustain the *Columbian*, as a Free Democratic paper at the capital of the State.

After some discussion, the resolution was adopted.

After some further proceedings, the Convention adjourned.

We have taken our abstract of proceedings from the Cleveland *True Democrat*, whose report is made up from the *Columbus* papers, no official report having been furnished in season, either for that paper or the *Era*.

It will be seen that the Party in Ohio, by its resolutions, stands broadly committed to every possible application of true Democratic Principles. By comparing its action with that of the Pierce Democratic Convention, which met on the 8th, it will be seen that it has far transcended the position of the latter, in relation to Slavery, Land Reform, Territorial Extension, Intervention, and Free Trade. We do not recollect that any convention, professedly Democratic, State or National, has ever taken ground so thoroughly and consistently Democratic. It is, of course, highly gratifying to us to know that the Independent Democratic Party of at least one State has gone the whole length of the Principles and Policy we have promulged for the last three years in our Annual Prospectus.

As to the Free Trade Doctrine, what harm can there be in its avowal, if the majority of a Party really believes in it? Some members of the Ohio Convention were opposed to it; more were in favor of it. After an animated debate, they submitted the question to the test of a vote, which showed that the majority were for Free Trade. But the resolves of a majority express its views, without binding the judgment or conscience of a minority. This can still hold its own opinions on the subject of Free Trade, and act upon them, without therefore separating from the majority on other subjects, on which there is agreement. The practice of smothering opinions in our parties and conventions, for the sake of harmony and peace, is unmanly and short-sighted, if not dishonest. It has always been the vice of the two old parties, and has been the parent of corrupt evasions or compromises. A Party of real Principle and Progress should scorn this cowardly policy. Let it study to understand the full bearings and consequences of the doctrines it professes, and let its declarations and practice always come up to its understanding. Let it not shun as side issues what it sees are legitimate results of its Principles, but honestly and boldly avow them. The fears, the doubts, the convictions of the minority should be recognised and respected, but not be allowed to suppress or suspend the free utterance of the majority. Let us have done with evasion, trickery, compromise, and deal frankly, fairly, tolerantly, by one another—acknowledging the right and duty of a majority to attest its convictions by its votes, and sacredly guarding the right of a minority to record its protest by its votes.

As an editor, we hold some opinions, which many of our subscribers doubtless do not agree with. What would they think of our honesty or independence, should we suppress them, for the sake of retaining their patronage? And what are we to think of the honesty of a Party the majority of whose members are in the habit of suppressing their deep-rooted convictions, lest they should alienate the minority or repel recruits?

Let the Party of Principle and Progress be bold, outspoken, and *candid*.

EXTRACTS FROM OUR CORRESPONDENCE.

New York, January 4, 1853.—I see that our correspondent from this city informs you that Free Democrats had no organization in this city last election. We had a small band of the faithful here, who worked hard. We used all the energies we could command, to make our proceedings public, *and had a great many more votes printed than found their way into the ballot boxes.* As things were, we increased our vote some over any former clear Anti-Slavery vote. We cast this fall 206 votes as reported by the inspectors, and in some districts, to my knowledge, our votes were not reported at all. The vote for some of our Congressional candidates was much higher—a gratifying testimony from their neighbors to their personal if not political claims. God helping us, we will do a good deal better next time.

North Enfield, N. H., Jan. 6, 1853.—We have adopted for our motto, "first our State, then our National paper." Although a minor myself, yet I feel a sort of compulsion to circulate Anti-Slavery papers, and thus aid the cause of human freedom. We furthermore have had large accessions since the election. We have every reason to believe that we shall give to the standard bearer of the Free Democracy a majority in '56 in the town of Enfield.

Canajoharie, N. Y., Jan. 7, 1853.—I find, as men become acquainted with the *National Era*, that their prejudices are removed imperceptibly. The friends of universal freedom have great reason to be encouraged in their labors of love, and can look forward with fond anticipations to the time when there shall not be a man, woman, or child, in this happy land, who shall be called a slave.

Ironton, Lawrence co., Ohio, Jan. 1, 1853.—The prospects of freedom's cause are encouraging here. A great many of both of the old leading parties are going with us, perhaps as many Democrats as Whigs. The Democracy are issuing this week the first number of a weekly paper, of which I enclose a prospectus, from which you may infer its tendencies. The delegates from this county to the State Convention will maintain the Land Reform and Anti-Slavery policy. In fact, the leading men here are strongly so in their personal opinions, and I take them to be men who put their convictions into practice.

Warren co., Ill., Dec. 24, 1852.—Our principles were not directly opposed here before the election, but the leaders of the other parties managed to keep up such a strife between them on other topics, as to induce many who are favorable to Free Democratic principles to vote in their respective parties, for the sake of defeating the opposing party. These topics will of course lose their importance now, while our principles cannot, but must continue to command the attention of reflecting men. Hence the importance of keeping these principles before them now, when the election is over, and the minds of men are in a condition to reflect calmly.

Wooster, Ohio, Jan. 5, 1853.—John P. Hale has hundreds of admirers here, who through old party ties have been kept in the old parties, but who say they will support him in '56. For one we say, keep Hale and Julian standing candidates for four years to come, and thousands, being free from the appliances brought to bear in the time of political excitement, will array themselves on the side of freedom.

Williamsburgh, Jan. 6, 1853.—It has occurred to me, that if you were to print some hundreds of copies over your list, and could send them to the press of the country at cost of paper and press work, perhaps one dollar a year, that incalculable good to the cause might be expected. You cannot afford to exchange with the larger portion of the newspapers, but it is very important that they all have the *Era*. Now, if you can consistently send each of the two papers the *Era* for a year, as above proposed, I should be glad to present them with the privilege of reading it; and if you think well of furnishing it to other papers throughout the country, why not make such a proposition to the friends of freedom, that they may furnish means to pay the expense in their localities. If you cannot furnish the paper for the purpose at one dollar, will you please to write me a line on the subject?

We are under obligations to our friend for his suggestions. Our exchange list is now so numerous, that we cannot extend it with justice to ourselves, unless on the plan mentioned by our correspondent.—*Ed. Era.*

Batavia, Illinois, Jan. 6, 1853.—The glorious cause which the *Era* so nobly advocates is gaining favor in the eyes of many who have heretofore voted the straight ticket, laying principles aside, and going for men of our party. As the *noble, honest* Hale said, at Aurora in this county, "that there would be a plenty of Free-Soilers after election," so it has turned out. Many Whigs who have clung to their party, under the leadership of Scott, (not swallowing the Compromise,) are now turning where they can carry out their principles clear from all breakers. Some Democrats—and perhaps as many as of the other party—have voted their last old line Democratic ticket.

Norton, Mass., Jan. 5, 1853.—I have sometimes thought I could not afford to take so many papers as I do, and have therefore occasionally suggested to Mrs. C. the necessity of stopping one of them. Her reply invariably is, "you may stop any of your papers but the *National Era*; I shall have that as long as we are able to take *one* paper." She being a woman of sense, I say Amen to her decisions. You may therefore put me down as a life subscriber.

Castine, Darke co., O., Jan. 1, 1853.—General Lafayette, in a letter to the National Assembly, dated June, 1792, says: "For a nation to be free, it is *sufficient* that she will it." If a nation can be purged of its long-standing corruptions by the mere will of the people, how much easier would it be for each friend of the Liberty movement to "will" that the *National Era's* subscription must number 50,000 before the close of the present Congress? It is sufficient that we will it, and the object is accomplished. I never knew but one subscriber of the *National Era*, who, after voting the ticket, backslid, and went back to his old party; and he did not take this step till he was admitted to plead law. We ought to pray for all such cases. There is no more effectual means to make working and vigilant advocates of human rights, than subscribing for a good weekly paper.

Oakwoods, Grant co., Ia., Dec. 25, 1852.—Our county gave Hale and Julian about 300 votes; and there are more numbers of the *Era* taken in this county than has ever been at once before. B., of Marion, which is an adjoining township to ours, sent a few days ago for thirty copies for distribution, and he has always been Whig till since the defeat of General Scott. I enclose $15, which will pay for a club of ten, &c. The great difficulty in getting the *Era* into general circulation here, is, the irregularity with which it comes—never coming to our office in less than three weeks after its own date, and very frequently there are numbers that get misplaced, or else are not mailed weekly, or something else the matter, so that they do not come to us for six weeks or two months after date.

The winter will soon be over, and the roads will be better; and then we shall have a new Administration. Perhaps a change may turn out for the better in the mail service.

Ed. Era.

Phillipsburg, Centre P. O., Montgomery co., O., Jan. 5, 1853.—Last Sabbath I was looking over my books, and among the rest I came across a volume of the "Facts for the People," a little sheet you published whilst you were in Cincinnati. It was to me like "bread that had been cast upon the waters, to be gathered up after many days;" it brought to my mind many things that I read long since, and had forgot. Would it not be well and for the good of the cause for you to publish a work similar to the "Facts?" We could thereby spread a great deal of matter amongst the people that we cannot do in any other way. Make the price low, and we can get you any quantity of subscribers, and have no doubt that it would be so in every place in the United States, at least in the free States.

We intend to start such a publication about the 1st of March.—*Ed. Era.*

Croton, Licking co., O., Jan. 4, 1853.—I am glad to see that the *Era* is not disposed to reiterate the cry of "peace," simply because the slave propagandists have failed in their attempts to purchase Cuba. Their apparent quiescence is only to blind the eyes of the people, and they will be ready, at the first opportunity that shall present itself, to perform the same feat. We are an unconquerable host in such a cause—a cause that commends itself to the judgment of all good men, and has the smiles of an approving God. Suppose we are in the minority, and should suffer defeat, once, twice, or thrice—what then? Shall we give up the contest? Shall we cease our efforts in behalf of the oppressed? Never! Keep agitating the question until our appeals are heard, despotism in all its forms overthrown, and man's right to the free exercise of his own faculties everywhere acknowledged. Slavery and Hunkerism, now that they have the numerical strength, may deprive us of our rights by proscribing our Senators; but such dastardly conduct will recoil with righteous condemnation upon its perpetrators. Ohio will ere long rebuke, in thunder tones, those who thus dare to trample upon her most sacred rights.

The State of New York have placed nearly 8 500 copies of Webster's Quarto Dictionary in the District Schools of the State.

Secretary's Report, January, 1853.

We are gratified to learn, that during the last month, the publishers of Webster's Dictionary have filled an order for a case of the "Unabridged," from Hong Kong, in China, and another from Northern India. They frequently supply orders for the work from the British Provinces, West Indies, and California. We wish that every reader of this could own a copy of this valuable dictionary.—*Watchman.*

THE SENATE OF RHODE ISLAND having refused to go into an election for U. S. Senator, the subject will lie over until another session.

DR. GARDINER, with the Commission appointed to examine concerning his alleged mines in Mexico, has returned to this city. The reports in the newspapers, that no such mines had been found, are unauthorized, as all the members of the commission are under injunctions of secrecy.

TEMPERANCE IN MASSACHUSETTS.—A proposition introduced into the House of Representatives of Massachusetts on the 18th, to inquire into the expediency of repealing or amending the Liquor Law, was laid upon the table—yeas 134, nays 115. Mr. Wiggin moved a reconsideration, and the question was to come up on the following Wednesday.

TEMPERANCE DEMONSTRATION IN N. YORK.—A few days since, a committee of ladies presented in person, to the Legislature, the petition of 28,000 women of New Pork State, praying the enactment of a law to suppress the rum traffic. Miss Clark, in behalf of the committee, addressed the Legislature in support of the petition.

A SINGULAR MISCONCEPTION.

The letter of the Hon. Stephen C. Phillips, of Massachusetts, published not long since in the *Era*, has been copied quite extensively by the Independent Democratic Press, with commendatory comments. The wisdom of its counsels has just been attested by the noble action of the Free or Independent Democracy of Ohio, in their State Convention of the 12th.

We are sorry to see that our friend of the *Ohio Times* sees such aid in our endorsement, a *new move*, something startling—a scheme for abandoning "the distinctive features of our organization, and connecting ourselves as a kind of appendage to the Hunker Democracy."

The editor of the *Era* led off in the formation of a distinct political organization in 1839-'40, in Ohio—he was almost its sole champion, when nearly all who are now supporting it in that State were acting with one or the other of the old parties. He devoted all his energies to its support, till he left Cincinnati for Washington, six years ago. Since then, he has written more in explanation, in defence, and in advocacy of such an organization, than any other man connected with it. For twelve years he has not wavered, halted, or diverged; and today he stands where he has stood since 1840.

This is our answer to the *Ohio Times*. Its editor has wholly misunderstood Mr. Phillips, who is too well known by our friends generally to need a word of defence against the misrepresentations of the *Times*, and the meaning and purposes of the *Era*. His construction of the letter and of our course is utterly vain.

GEORGE SAND AND UNCLE TOM.

The most popular female novelist of France has written an elaborate criticism of the romance of Mrs. Beecher Stowe. It appeared in the Paris *Presse* of the 20th of December, a few days after the close of Mr. Piatt's translation of the work. Our readers will of course feel a vivid curiosity to know what such an authority can say of such a work, and we mean to gratify it by rendering the criticism into English.—*N. Y. Eve. Post.*

UNCLE TOM'S CABIN.

To speak of a book on the morrow of its appearance, (says Madame Sand,) and in the very journal in which it has been published, is contrary to custom; but in the present case, this is a disinterested homage, since the immense success which the book has acquired acquits one of any motive of attempting to aid its circulation. It is already in all hands—in all journals. Editions of all sizes have appeared, and everybody devours it, and covers it with tears. No one who can read, is permitted to go without reading it; and the only regret is, that there are so many among us who cannot read—the Helots of misery, the slaves of ignorance—for whom politics has not yet solved the problem of bread for the soul and bread for the body.

It is no clap-trap advertisement, then, to return upon the work of Mrs. Stowe; it is an homage, and never did a pure and generous woman deserve a more tender and spontaneous one. She is far away from this, we do not know her, she that has pierced our hearts with emotions so sad, and therefore so sweet, and so let us thank her the more! Let the plaintive voices of women, let the generous voices of men and of children, so admirably glorified in the book, and those of the oppressed in this world, traverse the sea to say how much she is esteemed, how much she is loved.

If the best praise that can be given to an author is to love him, the truest that can be shown his book, is to love its faults. We cannot pass these in silence, we cannot elude the discussion of them, but we need not trouble ourselves about them, while others rally us for weeping over the simple narratives of the victims described. The defects of Mrs. Stowe's book exist only in respect to certain conventions of art, which are not absolute. If the judges, treating it as a mere bit of book-making, find parts that are tedious, repetitions, unskilfulness, let them take care, when they try to confirm their judgments by selecting some chance chapter, that their eyes are dry! They will remind themselves of that Ohio Senator, who argued with his little wife that he was right in voting for the Fugitive Slave Law, and yet took off two fugitives himself in his carriage, in the depth of the night, getting out into the mud up to his middle often, to help push on the wheels. This charming episode paints in the most admirable manner the situation of the greater part of men, placed between custom, prejudice, and their own hearts, otherwise more naive and generous than their institutions and manners.

This is the history, both touching and ludicrous, of a great number of independent critics. Whether the question be a social or literary one, those who pretend to judge it coldly, and at the point of view of the abstract law, are often surprised into the deepest emotions, and sometimes conquered, without being willing to confess it. I am always charmed with the anecdote of Voltaire, who, wishing to hold the fables of Lafontaine up to contempt, took the book, and said—"Listen! you shall see—take the first we come to!" He read it. "Ah! that's passable—but here's another, quite stupid!" He read the second, and found it very pretty. A third quite disarmed him; but reading on to find a bad one, he threw down the book, exclaiming, with ingenious spite, "It's only a hotch-potch of master-pieces." Great minds may be bilious and vindictive, but when they reflect, it is impossible for them to be unjust or insensible.

This work, badly constructed, according to the laws of modern romances, as they are accepted in France, inspires everybody, and triumphs over all criticism, in every discussion raised in the family circle. For it is essentially a domestic and family book, with its long dialogues, its minute details, and its portraits, so carefully studied. Mothers, young persons, children, and servants, read and comprehend it; and men, even superior men, cannot disdain it—we do not say, because its finer qualities redeem its defects, but because of these very pretended defects.

In France, we combated for a long while the prolixities of exposition in Walter Scott. We next cried out against those of Balzac; but on consideration, it was seen, that in paintings of manners and characters, there was never too much, when every stroke of the pencil was in its place, and concurred in the general effect. Sobriety and rapidity are eminent qualities; but we should learn to like all methods that are good, and which bear the sign of a wise and instinctive mastery.

Mrs. Stowe is all *instinct*, and for that reason she appears at first not to have talent. No talent! What is talent? Nothing, doubtless, compared to genius! But has she genius? I do not know that she has talent, as it is understood in the world of letters, but she has the genius which humanity has the most need of—the genius of good! This is not to be a man of letters; but do you know what it is? It is to be a saint—nothing more.

Yes, a saint! Three times holy is the soul which loves, blesses, and consoles martyrs! Pure, penetrating, and profound, is the spirit which sounds the depths of human nature! Great, generous, and vast the heart, which embraces in its pity, in its love, in its respect, a race sunken in blood and mire, under the scourges of cruel men, and the maledictions of the impious.

It is well for us that it is so; it is well that we feel, in spite of ourselves, that genius is the heart, that power is faith, that, finally, success is sympathy, since this book quite overturns us, chokes the throat, melts the spirits, and fills us with a strange sentiment of tenderness and admiration for the figure of a poor negro, lacerated with blows, stretched in the dust, and exhaling, in a coach-house, his last breath to God.

In respect to art, moreover, there is but one rule, one law, which is to show and to move. Where do we find creations more complete, types more living, situations more touching and more original, than in Uncle Tom? The sweet relations of the slave with the child of his master, exhibit a condition of things unknown amongst us—the protest of the master himself against slavery endures the whole phase of his life, when his soul belongs to God alone. Society absorbs him then, law expels deity, and interest deposes conscience. Arriving at manhood the child ceases to be a man, he becomes a master, and God dies out of his heart.

What experienced hand has ever traced a type more striking and attractive than Saint Clair—that refined, noble, loving, generous nature, but too soft and indifferent to be great? Is he not man in general, man with his fine innate qualities, his good impulses, and his deplorable carelessness—the charming *master*, who loves and is loved, who thinks, who reasons, but who never concludes or acts? He expends in a day the treasures of indulgence, of reason, of justice, and of goodness; he dies without having saved. His precious life is all resumed in a word—aspiration and regret. He could not *will*. Alas! there are not a few such among the best and strongest of men.

The life and death of a child, the life and death of a negro, is the whole of this book. That child and that negro are two saints for Heaven. The friendship which unites them, their respect for each other, is the whole love and passion of the drama. I do not know any other genius than that of sanctity, which could have spread over such a situation, a charm so powerful, and sustained. * * *

Children are the true heroes of Mrs. Stowe. Her soul, the most maternal that ever was, has conceived all the little beings in the very light of Heaven, (*rayon de la grace.*) George Shelby, little Harry, the cousin of Eva, the baby of the little wife of the Senator, and Topsey, the poor, devilish, and excellent Topsey, those that are seen, and those that are not seen in this romance, but of which only three words are spoken by their desolate mothers—are a world of little white and black angels, in which every woman recognises the object of her love, the source of her joys and her tears. In taking form in the mind of Mrs. Stowe, these children, without ceasing to be children, take also ideal proportions, and come to interest us more than all the personages in love romances.

The women, too, are designed with the hand of a master—not only the mothers, who are sublime, but those who are not mothers, either in heart or in fac', and whose infirmities are treated with indulgence or rigor. By the side of the methodical Miss Ophelia, who learns that duty is nothing without affection, Marie St. Clair is a portrait of frightful fidelity. One trembles to think that she exists—this American lioness; that she is everywhere; that each of us has seen her; for slaves are not wanting to her to make her reveal herself as a torturer, in the midst of her vapors and tremblings of the nerve.

Saints have also their claw; it is that of the lion; it respects human flesh; but it fastens upon the conscience. A little warm indignation, a little terrible mockery, is not unbecoming Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, the woman so gentle, so humane, so religious, so full of evangelical unction. Yes, she is a woman of great goodness, but not what we derisively call "a very good woman;" she is a strong, courageous heart, which, in blessing the unhappy, in caressing the faithful, aiding the irresolute, attracting the weak, does not fear to *spit* the hardened sinners, that she may show their deformity to the world.

Madame Sand then concludes her article with an expression of her personal thanks to Mrs. Stowe.

BALTIMORE, *Jan.* 22.—The Southern mail this morning brings nothing beyond Savannah.

The Savannah *Courier* has a letter from Florida, which states that the Indians have formally declared war against the United States, and a painful rumor prevailed that General Hopkins and his force had been massacred.

Probably a false report.

EUROPE.—The Europa, at Halifax, brings little political news of importance. The Ministers of the Northern powers have at length presented their credentials to the Emperor of the French. Nicholas absolutely refused to call Louis Napoleon by the title of brother, and compromised the matter by using the phrase "Mon Ami." Another horrible loss at sea is reported, namely, the burning of the American ship St. George, Capt. Benson, with passengers from Liverpool for New York, by which catastrophe over fifty unfortunate persons lost their lives.

It is reported that Lord Clarendon will supersede Lord John Russell in the Foreign Office before Easter.

Lord St. Germain has been inaugurated Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

LIVERPOOL MARKET, JANUARY 8.—The corn market has been dull, with a small business. Flour has declined 6*d*. per bbl.; corn 6*d*. per quarter, and wheat 2*d*. per 70 lbs. Western canal flour 27*s*. a 27*s*. 6*d*. Ohio 27*s*. a 29*s*.; Baltimore 28*s*. 6*d*.; white wheat 7*s*. 2*d*. a 7*s*. 6*d*.; red and mixed 6*s*. 8*d*. a 7*s*. 2*d*.; mixed and yellow corn 33*s*. 6*d*. a 35*s*.; white 34*s*. Sales of mess beef at 97*s*. a 110*s*. Market quiet but firm. Pork and bacon were scarce at 1*s*. advance. Lard was scarce at 2*s*. a 3*s*. advance, held at 66*s*.

THE AZTECS.—These singular little specimens of humanity are on exhibition at the Iron Hall. Apart from the romantic history which is told of them, they are worth a visit from the curious. It is supposed by some that they are unpleasant objects. Far from it. They are cleanly, and quite good looking, and their faces evince activity if not compass of intellect. Whether they be specimens of a race hitherto unknown, or the dwarfed offspring of Indians and negroes, we do not pretend to decide.

DEATH.

Died at the residence of her husband, in this city, on Thursday of last week, after a few days' illness, MARTHA, wife of the Hon. Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, and only surviving child of the late Col. Martin, of North Carolina.

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UNCLE TOM'S CABIN—*Price* 37 1 2 *Cents.*—A cheap edition of this work has been published, at the reduced price of thirty-seven and a half cents per copy, or it will be mailed to any part of the United States, *free of postage*, on the receipt of fifty cents. Address LEWIS CLEPHANE, at this office.

"CIRCULATE THE DOCUMENTS."

Although the election is over, the Independent Democratic Association of the District of Columbia feel indisposed to disband their organization. The success of the Compromise Democratic candidates at the late election does not satisfy us that the Compromise measures are a final settlement of the question of Slavery, and that agitation should cease. The following admirable Speeches can be supplied at the prices named, and orders for them are respectfully solicited:

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☞ The above Speeches are sold by William Harned, 48 Beekman street, New York.

NOW IS THE TIME FOR CLUBS.

WOODWORTH'S YOUTH'S CABINET, the most popular illustrated Young People's Magazine in the country, begins a new volume in January, 1853. *The initial number* is a charming thing, though only a fair specimen of what the work is to be during the whole year. Those who wish to subscribe can do so at a reduced price, by taking the work in connection with other persons, and remitting the several subscriptions at the same time. Price—for a single copy, $1; four copies, $3; seven copies, $5; and in the latter case, an extra copy to the one who forms the club. Price of specimen numbers six cents only, in post office stamps or money.

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THE PLAN OF THE WORK is unlike any other before the Public. Several pages are devoted to articles in prose and poetry, from the ablest writers, embracing subjects of interest for the older members of the family, and the advanced classes in school.

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OUR MUSEUM is a feature which attracts much attention from the young and old. Among its varieties may be seen, origin of words, of sayings, questions from correspondents, their answers; also, enigmas, puzzles, wit, and pebbles un common picked up along the shores of reading.

A MONTHLY SCHOOL READER is one of the leading characteristics of this work. It is adapted to classes of different grades, and furnishes fresh and entertaining matter every month—thus imparting to the pupils a variety of useful information that cannot be obtained from their school-books, while it develops a taste for reading.

THE AIM OF THE STUDENT is to develop body and mind, interest and instruct the intellect, enkindle a love for such learning as will be practically useful in life. While its pages breathe a high moral tone, and inculcate none but pure principles, they will be free from party and sectarian prejudices, endeavoring to do the greatest good to the greatest number.

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For sale in New York by C. S. FRANCIS & CO.; Philadelphia, J. W. MOORE; Baltimore, J. S. WATERS.
Jan. 27—4t

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WASHINGTON, D. C.

For the National Era.

SLAVERY AND ITS DEFENDERS.

BY A NORTH CAROLINIAN.

[CONTINUED.]

It may be said that I have not replied to the reasonings of "A Carolinian"—that I have only attempted to render them odious and unpopular by showing their inconsistency with all those maxims of freedom which lie at the basis of our institutions, and which have such a strong hold upon the affections of the American people. There was a time when those great principles were regarded as "self-evident; that all men are born free and equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; and that among these rights are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Washington and Jefferson, Franklin, Hancock, and Adams, with all the great and patriotic men of the Revolution, were content to take these truths for granted, as being too clear to need, almost too plain to admit of, proof. But the modern school of Southern philosophers and divines deny and scoff at them, and have succeeded in driving them out of good society, wherever the influence of slavery and conservatism has a foothold.

"A Carolinian" has contented himself with pointing out the superiority of slavery over freedom, in practically securing to the poor a greater degree of happiness, and shielding their morals and character from the debasing influences of freedom—he has not troubled himself or his readers with any metaphysical inquiries into questions of abstract right. The whole question is assumed to be one of expediency, to which less tangible considerations must yield. I entertain a very different view of the matter. In my judgment, the right or wrong of slavery is the most important, and the first point to be considered. The great fault of "A Carolinian" is this abnegation of the great principles of freedom. He abandons the platform of Washington, Jefferson, and Madison, and is content to stand upon the ground of mere temporary expediency.

I would not be understood as favoring rash or precipitate measures; I know that immediate emancipation is impossible—that wisdom, prudence, and time, are necessary to accomplish the great work; but in following expediency, which can last but for a season, we should not abandon principles which are eternal.

Pursuing the train of reasoning of "A Carolinian," then, let us inquire how far he is correct in assuming that slavery is preferable to freedom, and that it secures to the poor a greater amount of physical comfort, and greater exemption from vicious and depraving influences. A chief reliance of the author in support of this proposition is the fact that slaves are in many respects exempted from the cares which devolve upon freemen. They have no debts to pay, no family to provide for, nor even their own welfare to look after. They are not liable to lose their situations, and be dependent on friends or charity. It is this immunity from care which constitutes the happiness of the slave, according to the philosophy of "A Carolinian." To my mind, there can be nothing clearer than that this exemption from care is one of the greatest, if not the chief misfortunes of the slave. For what is it but care and difficulty which call forth the nobler faculties of the soul? Suppose that Benjamin Franklin had been born a slave—exempted from the cares and trials of freedom, but at the same time robbed of the noble incentives to industry and effort which accompany those cares—can it be imagined that he would ever have elevated himself above the sphere in which he was born? It is possible that the hope of freedom might have inspired such natural talents and energies as his, even while yet in the condition of slavery; but supposing that all hope of freedom had been out of the question, and there can scarcely be a doubt that he would have gone down to the grave among the undistinguished multitude. I have instanced Franklin because he began life as an humble laborer, and raised himself to the highest intellectual and social rank, by manfully encountering and overcoming those cares and difficulties which "A Carolinian" considers it the happiness of a slave to be exempt from. It is a remarkable and interesting fact that the greatest number of eminent men in this country have sprung from the humbler walks of life; their parents were poor, and with great difficulty managed to give them the rudiments of an education. The hard struggle with poverty, which they were compelled to maintain, was the great element in forming their characters. Had they been born in affluence, they would, in most instances, have been deficient in the energy and industry which are essential to success.

There can be no greater wrong inflicted upon a rational being than to strip him of the responsibilities and cares of life, and to treat him as a minor or an imbecile. To rob him of the labor of his hands is a trifling injury compared with the deprivation of moral and intellectual training. If he who buried the talent which was intrusted to him, in order that he might restore it without loss, was held guilty, what must be thought of a system which assiduously labors to bury the talents of a whole race, in order to prevent their increase!

The tendency of freedom to develop the intellectual and moral nature, and of slavery to depress and almost to extinguish those faculties, may be illustrated not only by contrasting the white and colored races, but by comparing the different classes of colored people. Although the free colored people of the North constitute but a small fraction of the race in this country, they have produced quite a number of men of respectable talents: and the fugitives from slavery, who constitute a still smaller fraction, number among them several able and eloquent speakers and writers, and one who has been honored with a degree by a German University. These fugitives, while yet in bondage, nursed the generous idea of freedom in their breasts, and were thus stimulated to improvement. But the mass of slaves, being moved with no hope of changing their condition, are making no effort to throw off the ignorance and imbecility in which their masters are assiduous to keep them. No slave, while yet a slave, has ever exhibited talents comparable to what we have seen in the handful of fugitives who have escaped to the free States and Canada. Doubtless, there are instances of talent and energy among them, but they must necessarily be united to the hope of freedom. Energy is a mental and moral quality, and can have no existence in a mind destitute of hope.

I am far from conceding that slaves are exempt from the usual allotment of temptation, though they may be less harassed by care for the future than freemen. The very fact that they are deprived of the feeling of responsibility which attaches to rational beings, in nearly all the relations of life, necessarily tends to make them sensual, and the ignorance in which they are reared conspires to produce the same result. It is true that character—in other words, virtue, honor, truth—will promote the happiness of a slave, and, in a great majority of cases, will insure him kinder treatment than he would otherwise receive. But no amount of character will redeem him from Slavery—on the contrary, it only serves to rivet his chains, by enhancing his value. Slavery, therefore, sets a poor premium upon virtue; and if a slave be really virtuous, it must be from an extraordinary proclivity towards goodness. Slaveholders, as a general rule, have an exceedingly low estimate of the virtue of slaves, and many are so uncharitable as to deny that there can be an honest and truthful slave. This class of slaveholders, which, by the way, is quite numerous, allege that lying and pilfering are vices universal among the servile race; and I remember an article which I think appeared in the Southern Literary Messenger, some years ago, from the pen of Judge Harper, of South Carolina, in which he generously exempted slaves from ordinary responsibility in this matter of pilfering. According to his definition, the offence in a freeman would constitute a crime, while in a slave it was only a vice. Although I am far from thinking the mass of slaves equal in character to freemen, I have a better opinion of them than is prevalent among slaveholders. As a general rule, bad masters make bad slaves; and the large slaveholding districts, where there exists the greatest amount of ignorance, and the severest rule, will furnish the worst examples of servile depravity.

The theories of "A Carolinian" are therefore not borne out by the experience of slaveholders. Their testimony as to the debasing effects of Slavery is unanimous, or at any rate they are unanimous in testifying to the debased condition of the slaves; and if they include the free negro in the censure, it will not help the cause of "A Carolinian," since that unfortunate class are only free in name, throughout the Southern States. It may be made a question whether the so-called free people of color are not as much outraged in their rights as the slaves.

In regard to the condition and character of slaves, it may be remarked that they have been painted, by the friends and apologists of the institution, in as many varying and diverse colors as the points of view from which the subject has been regarded; so that all sorts of arguments would be answered, but for the clashing statements of these gentlemen. When the duty of emancipation is talked of, we are told that the thing is utterly absurd—that the slaves are too ignorant and degraded to become American citizens, and too indolent to take care of themselves when turned loose upon society. Some go so far as to insist that the African race is so inferior to the European, as forever to be incapable of freedom; that Slavery is their natural and proper condition, ordained by Heaven, and intimate that there is something like impiety in proposing to change it. Another class of apologists for Slavery, or probably the same, when assailed from a different point of view, will give you an entirely opposite account of the matter. When defending the humanity and Christian sympathy of masters for their slaves, they make it the most beautiful patriarchal system imaginable—everything moves like clock-work, and the utmost harmony and good feeling exists between the head of the family and his confiding dependants. The idea of forced subjection and constrained labor being thought of in connection with this beautiful reproduction of the primeval age, is utterly inadmissible, and is set down as a vile abolition invention. They contrast the condition of the slaves with that of the native Africans; show the immense progress which has already been made, in civilization, knowledge, and religion; and triumphantly compare them with the laboring masses of Europe, and sometimes indeed with those of the free States. I am disposed to accept this more hopeful view of the subject, with a few grains of allowance; and I would respectfully inquire of the friends of Slavery, why this great and rapid progress under every discouragement may not proceed until the negroes shall equal and surpass the present position of the whites in the scale of civilization? The fact is undeniable, that the progress which has been made by the colored people of the South, has been in spite of the most strenuous efforts of the law-makers to prevent it. The statute books of the slaveholding States demonstrate this fact, and there is no use in disputing it; not a clause or proviso can be found to the contrary. The contact with the whites, constrained and cruel as it has been, has civilized the negro, and cultivated his understanding to some extent, in spite of a barbarous code designed to counteract that result. And, besides, individuals are often better than the law-makers—women and children are generally so. They have in the worst times imparted more or less instruction to the slaves, in disregard of legal penalties.

Dr. Fuller, in his controversy with Dr. Wayland, boasts of his open disregard of the statutes of South Carolina, in giving instruction to his slaves. A better spirit is doubtless beginning to pervade the South; but it is not yet a prevalent idea among slaveholders. "A Carolinian" and the gentleman just referred to, Dr. Fuller, have much over-stated the prevalence of this feeling—it is not common, in fact, and will not be strong enough to modify the barbarous code of Slavery, until they and others like them assail it with all the eloquence and power at their command. If the wise and good men of the South expect to *honey* the mass of slaveholders out of their long-cherished and deeply-rooted prejudices, they will be egregiously disappointed.

The attempt to bring the Southern people to a proper sense of their duty and responsibility to the slaves, by assuring them that they are already profoundly impressed with those duties, is something like a scheme of reforming drunkards by protesting that they are already models of sobriety. The Bible is often quoted in support of Slavery. To my mind it is clear that the Apostles, in enjoining obedience to masters, only meant to apply the great law of peace, and forbearance under injuries, to the peculiar circumstances of slaves or servants; and to guard them against vices peculiar to their class—lying, pilfering, and "eye-service." These practices would deform the character of the Christian under any circumstances, and were not to be tolerated under any pretext of the injustice to which they were subjected. But, in any view of the subject, the whole testimony of Apostles and Prophets, on this subject of Slavery or servitude, should be proclaimed throughout the South. The injunctions of duty are not confined to one side. The severest condemnations are uttered against the master who abuses his authority over the slave, and the slaveholders should be put in mind of these things oftener than of any other one duty; because here is their great liability to err—even the best of them—yet I have never known a minister of the Gospel in the South to make the faintest allusion to this transcendently important matter. The best of them are deterred from broaching a subject so distasteful to the ruling class. I formerly heard Slavery frequently adverted to in one Washington pulpit, but it was then regarded as doubtful ground, and is now wholly abandoned. And if public sentiment here will not tolerate the admonition of the pulpit, what must be the state of things in those sections where Slavery is the predominant interest?

I know that the conferences, synods, and councils of the churches have given some attention to the religious instruction of slaves by means of oral teaching, but this is not enough. They should insist upon the duty of teaching the slaves to read and write, and upon making matrimony a legal relation among them. A combination of ministers of the Gospel for this purpose, with such good men as would readily co-operate with them, could not fail to control public opinion in a matter of clear and imperative duty.

"A Carolinian" triumphantly refers to the physical comforts enjoyed by Southern slaves, and appears to regard the fact as conceded on all hands, that in this respect their situation is preferable to that of the laboring classes in Europe. If we admit the correctness of his statements, it will by no means follow that the slave receives anything like a fair requital for his labor. A man's labor is worth far more than the necessaries of life, and in every part of this Union it commands full four or five times the value of necessaries. Necessaries are comprised within a very small compass. One hundred and fifty pounds of pork, and some five bushels of corn meal, with a few bushels of potatoes, cabbages, and turnips, is all that is essential to the support of the body in health and vigor. The value of these articles may be fifteen dollars—not more; to which, if we add two suits of the coarsest and cheapest clothing, including a hat, blanket, and two pairs of shoes, worth fifteen dollars more, we have the full outfit of a slave for twelve months. This is his share in the fruits of his toil. He is placed upon the lowest level of human existence—necessaries. Now, this is by no means the condition of the Northern laborer, nor even of the European under ordinary circumstances. The board of a Northern free laborer of the humblest class is worth a third more than the *board and clothing* of a slave. The free man drinks tea and coffee, and regales his palate with other luxuries, with which plantation slaves are never furnished by their masters. Domestics, and slaves in small families, are less rigorously dealt with. They are, as a general rule, residuary legatees and executors of the masters' tables, and whatever is left of a perishable nature falls to their share. But even here, there is no justice in the distribution; for Grand Viziers and chief Ministers of State in despotic countries were never chargeable with anything like socialist or agrarian principles; and I have never read, in the Arabian Nights or elsewhere, of one of these dignitaries who voluntarily divided the perquisites of office equally with his subordinates.

Any statement of the condition of plantation slaves, put forth with a view to the vindication of Slavery, would fail to convince the distant public, from the natural suspicion that its author would yield to the temptation of drawing upon his fancy for his facts. On the other hand, statements coming from Abolitionists on this subject would be charged with gross exaggeration; and, in either case, the public would be left in doubt as to the real state of the case. To obviate the uncertainty arising from either of these sources of evidence, and to place the matter beyond controversy, I appeal to an authentic public document, the information in which was furnished by gentlemen of the highest intelligence and character in the Southern country, and with no reference to its influence upon the question of Slavery. I refer to Senate Document, Vol. 2, 1845–'6. It is Mr. Walker's Report on the Finances. That gentleman, then Secretary of the Treasury, in order to collect tangible evidence of the actual industrial condition and resources of the country, issued two circulars, each embracing a long series of questions. The first was directed to the principal manufacturing establishments in the several States, and the second to the leading agriculturists. His object in procuring this information was to sustain his theories of free trade and finance. The testimony was given, therefore, without the slightest reference to Slavery as a moral or social problem, and may be regarded as disinterested. There is this to be observed, however: The circular was addressed indiscriminately to gentlemen of both parties; and many of the answers which this Document contains are from strong tariff men, whose principles and views of their pecuniary interests would lead them to state the amount of their profits at the lowest figure consistent with truth, and their expenses at the highest; for Mr. Walker's object was to reduce the then tariff of 1842, and they supposed that their interests required a high rate of duties. The sugar planters are nearly all friends of protection; and, in order to show its necessity, they would be tempted to exaggerate the expense of feeding and clothing their slaves; so that there cannot be the slightest doubt that they have put it as high as the actual facts warranted. I have no doubt, nevertheless, that their statements are perfectly reliable. Indeed, they appear to be made with great candor, and coincide with similar statements from cotton planters, whose political sympathies may be supposed to lean the other way. The answers to Question 6th are those which are germane to my present purpose; but I quote other statements going to show the general profits of planters in the South. Only two or three touched directly upon the expense of maintaining slaves; but these statements are of a general nature, and will answer for the whole South.

Question 6.—What has been the annual average price of those agricultural products and staples during the same periods respectively, and what the annual average income per hand or laborer, deducting all expenses during the same periods respectively?—[1832 to 1842, and 1842 to 1845.]

SOUTH CAROLINA.

P. W. Fraser. The annual average income per hand or laborer, deducting all expenses, can be easily estimated by the hire, by which standard I am disposed to be governed; and I consider full-task hands must have brought annually, during those years, sixty dollars per head, and the furnishing fifteen dollars, leaving $45. Many planters realize $100 or more, but much depends upon the quality of the soil and its situation, whether safe or unsafe, old or new, and many other circumstances.

R. F. W. Allston, Waccamaw. The annual average income per hand or laborer, during the first term of ten years, was about $130; in 1842–'43, $83; in 1843–'44, $96.71; in 1844–'45, $128.

Edmund Webb, Postmaster, Andersen Court House. About six and a half cents per pound since 1842, and nine cents preceding that time; and the annual income per hand, deducting all expenses during the same periods, was about $35 and $50 respectively.

GEORGIA.

Jos. Cumming, Savannah. The income per hand or slave has not exceeded $35 since the tariff of 1842, 1844 and 1845 being assumed as its demonstrated operation—$50 to $60 usually.

FLORIDA.

Samuel W. Spencer, Collector, Appalachicola. The average price of cotton has been ——; the average income per hand was from 1832 to 1835, $100; from 1835 to 1837, $120; and from 1838 to 1842, $75.

Appalachicola, Florida. Robert Myers, United States Marshal, says: The annual average income per hand, after deducting expenses and making no allowance for interest on capital invested, from 1832 to 1842, was about $165; and from 1842 to 1845, it was about $30. In the one case he has supposed the capital invested in negroes and land to be $1,000, which, after deducting expenses, would yield from 12 to 15 per cent.; and in the other, he has valued the negroes and land at $600, which gives about 5 per cent. He has based his estimates upon an average crop in both cases, of four bales to the hand.

LOUISIANA.

P. A. Rost, Destreham Place. Question 4.—I own a sugar plantation on Mississippi river, upon which I resided. Twenty odd years ago I established a cotton plantation on Red river, and I am still interested in its products. The land of both is fertile, the climate favorable to the products raised, and the cultivation equal to the average of the cultivation of Louisiana. Out of the three years last past, two have been favorable for cane, and one has been unfavorable. The average clear profit of the three years on the sugar plantation has been 7 per cent. upon the capital invested. Upon the cotton plantation, the crop of 1842 was fair, and yielded a net profit of six and a half per cent., notwithstanding the low prices. The two following crops were half destroyed by the overflows and the army-worm. The total income of the two years was hardly seven per cent. The present season has been reasonable and free from accidents. The crop, if it can be picked, will amount to at least 150,000 pounds clean cotton, which, at an average price of seven cents, will produce $10,500. The expenses of cultivation, baling, transportation, and sale, will not exceed $3,000, leaving $7,500 profit upon a capital of $75,000—that is, ten per cent.

Many persons, discouraged at the present appearance of the army-worm, are leaving cotton to cultivate the sugar-cane. Cotton, at from six to seven cents a pound, is a more profitable crop than sugar ever can be.

5th. I did not own the sugar plantation during the ten previous years; I learn that the average profits during that time were about the same, the only difference being in the value of the currency during the two periods. On the cotton plantation the average profits of the ten years should have been over ten per cent. in the currency of the times. The place was badly conducted, however, and raised bad cotton part of the time; hence the small profits.

6th. The annual average income per hand on the sugar plantation, from 1842 to 1845, has been $175, and must have been the same in the ten previous years. On the cotton plantation since 1842 the worm and overflows have caused in two years the loss of a whole crop; counting those two years for one, the average would be $145 per hand; and if the crop now on hand were included in the estimate, the average would be near $600 per hand. In comparing the profits of the two cultivations, it should be remembered that the fixed capital on a sugar plantation working a given number of hands is much greater than that employed on a cotton plantation having an equal number; and that the difference consists principally in buildings and machinery, subject to great wear and tear, so that the income per hand in the cultivation of sugar may be greater, while the profit on the whole capital is less.

Letter from R. W. Harris and others, in reference to the production of sugar in the State of Louisiana.

STATE OF LOUISIANA,
PARISH OF ST. MARY'S.

We, the undersigned, have had the pleasure to peruse a circular issued by the Secretary of the Treasury, asking information in regard to the different productions and manufactories of the United States. In reply to a few questions respecting sugar, we are fully convinced, from many years' experience in the production of that article, that should Congress be so unwise as to reduce the duty to 12½ per cent., even with a corresponding reduction on all other imports, the consequence would be, that in a very few years the cultivation of that indispensable necessary would be abandoned in Louisiana, not only to the entire ruin of that portion of the State adapted to that culture, but also to the loss of both the Western farmer and the Northern manufacturer. * * *

To prove what we have already stated, long experience has taught us that it requires at least two and a half cents on every pound of sugar produced, to meet the necessary expenses of conducting a sugar plantation, principally owing to the perishable nature of materials in the climate. Annexed you have a statement showing the annual necessary expenses pertaining to a plantation, whereon is produced, one year with another, one hundred hogsheads of sugar.

Statement.

Household and family expenses	$1,000
Overseer's salary	400
Food and clothing for 15 working hands at $30	450
Food and clothing for 15 old negroes and children at $15	225
1½ per cent. on capital invested (which is about $40,000) to keep it in repair	600
	2,675
50 hogsheads sugar at 4 cents per pound (net proceeds)	$2,000
25 hogsheads sugar at 3 cents per pound (net proceeds)	750
25 hogsheads sugar at 2 cents per pound (net proceeds)	500
4000 gallons of molasses at 10 cents	400
	3,650
Leaving a profit of	$975

equal to about two and a half per cent. interest on capital, should the tariff be reduced to the rate proposed. But if permitted to remain at two and a half cents, as it now is, an interest of six per cent. on capital can one year with another, by strict economy be realized.

* * * * * * *

We regret that we are not sufficiently acquainted with any other branch of agriculture or manufacture to form a correct opinion.

R. W. HARRIS,
HENRY FOOTE,
BENJAMIN LACY,
E. CARLIN,
And 44 others.

Edward J. Forstall, of New Orleans.

Pro forma expenses of a sugar estate working a gang of one hundred slaves, and producing per annum four to five hundred hogsheads of sugar:

Overseer	$1,500
Doctor, $3 per slave of all ages	300
Yearly repairs to engine, copper work, resetting of sugar kettles, &c., at least	900
Engineer during grinding season	200
Pork, 50 pounds per day—say per annum 90 hogsheads, at $12	1,080
Hoops	80
Clothing, 2 full suits per annum—shoes, caps, hats, and 100 blankets, at least $15 per slave	1,500
Mules or horses, and cattle to replace, at least	500
Implements of husbandry, iron, nails, lime, &c., at least	1,000
Factor's commission, 2½ per cent	500
	$7,560

Corn—4,000 barrels per annum here supposed to be produced on the estate, although it is known that for the last three years large quantities have been bought by the planters.

TENNESSEE.

Hugh Harkins, Postmaster, Bolivar, Hardiman county.—Each good hand cleared 110 dollars.

The above facts need no comment. They tell their own tale of unrequited toil and unrelieved hardship. "A Carolinian" justly remarks, that the slaves enjoy "a monopoly of labor," and it is equally clear that their masters enjoy a monopoly of wages.

[TO BE CONCLUDED IN OUR NEXT.]

THE NEW MOTIVE POWER.

The Caloric Engine is no hasty product. Twenty-five years ago, Ericsson conceived the idea. For twenty-five years he has been engaged in elaborating and perfecting it. In 1833, he propounded it to the scientific world at London. Men of the highest authority, such men as Faraday and Brunel, pronounced it good, and predicted its triumph. But there were practical difficulties. The principle was clear; not so its application. Those difficulties have had to be overcome gradually, one by one. Since the first model engine of five-horse power was constructed, the inventor has built some twelve or thirteen others, in each making some improvement, removing some obstacle. Two years since his invention was complete. No hindrance remained to be vanquished. He was ready to submit the New Motive Power to the test of trial on the largest scale. Fortunate beyond other great inventors, at every step he had found means to go forward. And now came the final demonstration. For that, means were also found. Enlightened capitalists came forward, and examined, and were convinced. The funds were furnished. It was determined to bring out the machine on a scale unprecedented in the history of inventions. The Ericsson, a splendid ship of 2,200 tons, was constructed, the machinery built and put on board. The public trial has taken place at the earliest possible moment, if anything, too soon for perfect justice to the invention. Though the engine was unfinished, and unable to perform all the work for which it is designed, yet, as many unfavorable rumors had been put in circulation, such as that it could not move the ship from the dock, that the wheels had to be turned by hand, that it was but a vast humbug, with others of the same sort—in order to silence these assertions, and relieve the owners from the sneers and imputations to which they were subjected as having thrown away their money on a delusion, it was determined to anticipate the time of bringing out the ship, and to submit the Caloric Engine to public inspection, even in its present imperfect state, and with the certainty that it could not exhibit its whole power.

This was first done in the trial trip of last week, when only the inventor, owners, and crew of the ship, were present. Her performance on that occasion we have recorded. Yesterday a second trial was made. This was for the special satisfaction of the members of the Press. Representatives were present from all, or nearly all, the journals of the city, including several of the editors-in-chief of the respective papers. The party was taken from Whitehall at about half past 9, in a small steamer. It was nearly 10 when the Ericsson was put in motion. With the tide and a light breeze against her, she ran down beyond the Narrows, a distance of some ten miles; the tide was also against her in returning; the run each way was accomplished in about an hour and a quarter, making her average speed about eight miles an hour against the tide.

The time on the passage down was spent in discussing an excellent breakfast, and in examining the engine. The first thing in the engine which strikes the observer, is the magnitude of the cylinders. These are fourteen feet in diameter, six feet more than those of the Collins steamers. There are four in the Ericsson, standing in a fore-and-aft line; two before and two abaft the shaft, and working in pairs upon it. From the base of the cylinders to the summit is about thirty feet. Each cylinder is double, consisting of what is called a working cylinder and a supply cylinder; the latter being on top, and united with the other, though of inferior diameter. The working cylinder has the furnace under it; in it the active force of the machine is developed in the form of air expanded by heat. The supply cylinder is always cold. The working cylinder is fourteen feet in diameter; the piston which plays in it has a superficies of 22,300 square inches. The supply cylinder is eleven feet seven inches in diameter, and the area of its piston is 14,500 square inches. These pistons are joined by powerful iron rods. The stroke is six feet. On the under side of the upper piston are valves through which the supply of fresh air is drawn, after the machine is put in motion. Over the supply cylinder is a reservoir, in which the upward motion of the piston compresses the air, which passes in there through valves. The connection between the reservoir and working cylinder is by a large pipe running from the former to the base of the latter. The engine is set in motion by pumping cold air into the reservoir, by hand or otherwise.

From the reservoir, through a valve at the bottom of the large connecting pipe, the compressed air is admitted into the working cylinder over the furnace. Here it is instantly heated, and by its expansion drives up the piston, and at the same time compresses the air in the supply cylinder, and forces it into the reservoir. Then another valve in the connecting pipe opens, and the hot air is let off into the atmosphere. This removes the pressure that has driven the piston up, when its own weight brings it down again, and the escape valve closes. Then the supply valve opens again, and lets the cold air in over the furnace; it is heated, and so the process goes on.

But the great feature of the invention is yet to be described. This is the apparatus by which the main part of the heat which expands the air in the working cylinder is saved, and made to do duty over and over again. This it is that produces the astonishing economy of fuel, which is one of the great characteristics of the invention. In a steam engine the heat is used but once; it passes away, and therefore has to be perpetually renewed. In the caloric engine it is economized. This is an immense advantage.

The apparatus is formed of iron wire 1-16 of an inch in diameter, woven into a web dense enough for the holes or meshes to occupy half the surface. Fifty thicknesses, or disks, of this wire cloth are used in each pipe connecting the reservoir and working cylinders. Each disk is 6 feet long and 4 wide, and contains half a million of meshes. They are placed close together in the pipe between the working cylinder and the two valves, which let in the new air and let out that which has been used. Thus all the air which comes in passes through the meshes of the wires, as does all that goes out. Here lies the wonder of the invention. The heated air in going out leaves its heat in these wires, and the cold air in coming in takes it up again. In the engines of the Ercisson the air which comes out is but 30 degrees hotter than the atmosphere, though before passing through the wires it was 384 degrees hotter. Even these 30 degrees might be saved, says Captain Ercisson, by increasing the number of wire disks, but it is practically unnecessary. This apparatus is called the regenerator. Though the principle of it is essentiolly the same as that of Davy's Safety Lamp, the glory of its application to mechanical purposes is Captain Ercisson's forever.

As we said, there are four of these double cylinders, four working and four supply. Accordingly there are four furnaces, ingeniously arranged, and set without any extraordinary outlay of brick, such as has been reported. In these a small fire is kept up with anthracite coal, which is preferable to other fuel, because it does not blaze—only its radiating heat is employed. From the grate to the apex of the cylinder-bottom, which is arched, of course, there is a distance of five feet. The cylinder-bottom is 1½ inches thick. Before the engine is put in motion it may get to a brown heat, but at that distance it cannot get hotter. As soon as the cold air is let in, it cools much below that point. Thus there is no danger either of fusion, cracking, or oxydizing of the cylinder-bottom, all of which have been predicted by the skeptical. A cylinder-bottom will last five years—as long as a steam boiler; or, if it gives out, can easily be replaced. The difference in the cost of replacing cylinder-bottoms and steam boilers would, in a large ship, be from thirty to forty thousand dollars in favor of the former.

The piston in the working cylinder is made 6 feet deep from top to bottom, concave underneath to fit the cylinder-bottom, and flat at the top. The top, as well as the sides, are of iron, but the space between is filled with gypsum and charcoal, non-conductors of heat. Thus, while the bottom has the temperature of the hot air in the cylinder, the top is perfectly cool. The heat there is barely sufficient to keep the tallow used for lubrication in a fluid state, not to burn it. In fact, one can stand upon it as it plays up and down, and many gentlemen amused themselves yesterday by riding there. This enables the engineer at any time to grease just the part of it which he may desire; when the ship is careening, for instance, and the friction of the piston is all on one side, that side can be directly lubricated. This is a point of great practical importance, which cannot be attained in a steam engine. Nor is there any danger of burning the packing, for it is at the top of the piston, and never comes within less than 6 feet of the fire.

The cylinders act in pairs, and in each pair the action is reciprocrating; that is to say, as the piston goes up in one, it goes down in the other.

The pressure for which the caloric engine is calculated is 12 lbs. per square inch, and to obtain this, it is necessary to heat the air to 384 deg. By raising the air to 450 deg., a pressure of 15 lbs. could be obtained, but 12 is sufficient for practical purposes, and more convenient to manage. Capt. Ericsson is of opinion that that will be retained as the maximum pressure by future builders of engines. Yesterday, owing to the unfinished state of the machine, and especially of the valves, it was impossible to get more than 8 lbs. pressure. With that, nine or ten revolutions were obtained per minute. The full number of revolutions to be had from the Ericsson's engines is reckoned at 12, and at that rate it is calculated that she will make from 10 to 12 miles an hour. This is the utmost that is hoped from her, and we think rather more than will be obtained. Her engines are not powerful enough to make her a competitor in speed with the fast Collins or Cunard steamers. For that, she must have larger cylinders. The means of increasing power is to enlarge the diameter of the cylinders. When these engines were built, Captain Ericsson desired to have cylinders of 16 feet, but no establishment would undertake to cast them, and 14 were the largest he could get. Now, Messrs. Hogg & Delamater are ready to make them of any size required, at their own risk.

The smoothness with which the engines worked was remarkable. Capt. Ericsson said that ½ lb. pressure was enough to move them. The amount of friction he finds very much less than he anticipated. The coal consumed by the whole four furnaces is at the rate of 6 tons in 24 hours; 7 tons is the utmost limit of their consumption. The engineer and one fireman suffice to tend the whole mechanism. There is no unpleasant smell, as about steam machinery. There are two smoke pipes, and two pipes to carry off the escaped air. These pipes are 12 feet above the deck, and 30 inches in diameter. They are painted white, with a gilt rim at the top, but there is not smoke enough to sully them. The amount of air passing through these four cylinders in an hour is from 50 to 75 tons. This keeps the ship perfectly ventilated. It was cool and pleasant in the immediate vicinity of the furnaces.

New York Tribune.

VIEWS OF A WESTERN MERCHANT.

LOGANSPORT, IA., *Jan.* 2, 1853.

To the Editor of the National Era:

I have taken a daily paper from New York city for several years, and I have oftentimes been mortified to see the miserable crouching of her merchants to Southern dictation.

As soon as the Virginia papers demand it, the money is raised for the Lemmon negroes. The city papers condemn the Baltimore Commercial Convention as useless, as the merchants of New York are *national*. Now, I am a Free Soil Democrat, and a merchant; and I despise a Northern doughface, while I can treat a slaveholder with kindness and respect.

I purchase largely in New York city, and so do thousands of others that agree with me in sentiment. Now, I will deal with my friends, political or social, before I will with a man destitute of political or moral principles. In the city, I purchase silks of that house that informed the world "their goods were for sale, and not their principles." I purchase dry goods of one of a similar cast; but in groceries and hardware I know of none. If the merchants in that city would advertise in the *Era*, they would find customers in Ohio, Indiana, and other Western States, that would pay. If there are none in New York city, the roads are now open to Philadelphia and Baltimore, and we can go there. Gold controls the politics of New York city; and if the Northern merchants would discard doughfaces, the city of New York would in six months be famous for its Free Soil principles. Yours,

A HOOSIER MERCHANT.

MARRIAGE.

Married in Chasy, Clinton county, New York, on Thursday, December 23d, by the Rev. Mr. Brinkerhoof, Mr. JULIUS F. HALL, of Movers, to Miss ZADAH A. RANSOM, of the former place.

LIGHT'S LITERARY AGENCY,
No. 3 Cornhill, Boston,

IS the special Boston and New England office for the following valuable newspapers:

The National Era. Received by Express from Washington, and delivered by carriers at $2.75 a year, free of postage; single numbers, 6 cents. Price by mail, $2. Agents and clubs furnished at rates that will save them part of the postage. Orders for *advertising* in this paper solicited.

The Independent—weekly. Edited by Rev. Leonard Bacon, D. D., and others; Rev. George B. Cheever and Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, stated Contributors. Received by Express from New York, and delivered by carriers at $2.50 a year, free of postage; single numbers, 6 cents. Price by mail, $2.

The Friend of Youth, a superior monthly journal for the Young, edited by Mrs. M. L. Bailey, Washington. Price, delivered free of postage, 62 1-2 cents a year; by mail, 50 cents.

May 1. G. W. LIGHT, 3 Cornhill

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JOHN P. JEWETT & CO., Boston, have published the following superbly illustrated Gift Books:

Heaven and its Scriptural Emblems. By Rev. Rufus W. Clark. This work is intended by the reverend and talented author to fill a place too much neglected in the Gift Book literature of our country, viz: the Religious department. He has presented a picture of Heaven, drawn with graphic power and eloquence from Scripture Emblems. Billings has illustrated it with five original designs, engraved on steel, which we hesitate not to say have never been excelled, even by the exquisite pencil of Billings himself. In paper, printing, and binding, we intend it shall be as near faultless as possible. In one volume, 8vo. Price, in cloth, $2.50; cloth, gilt, $3.50; Turkey, $5. Ready December 1.

Uncle Tom's Cabin. By Mrs. H. B. Stowe. Re-stereotyped in one octavo volume, with steel portraits of Mrs Stowe and Little Eva, and illustrated with one hundred original designs, by Billings; engraved in the highest style of wood engraving, by ten of the most distinguished artists in America. It is our intention to make this one of the most splendid volumes, as to its engravings, its paper, printing, and binding, ever issued from the American press. It will be ready December 1. Price, in cloth, $2.50; cloth, gilt, $3.50; Turkey, $5.

Orders from the trade, for the above works, are most respectfully solicited.

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The Trial by Jury. By Lysander Spooner. An ingenious and very able work.

Uncle Tom's Cabin, in German. We have in press, and shall issue as soon as possible, this great work in the German language. It is being translated by Professor Hutton, one of the most distinguished German scholars in this country. We shall issue it in one volume, 8vo., double columns; to retail for fifty cents. Orders from the trade solicited. Published by

JOHN P. JEWETT & CO., Boston, Mass., and
JEWETT, PROCTOR, & WORTHINGTON,
Dec. 2—4wif Cleveland, Ohio.

A CHANCE TO MAKE MONEY.

FROM $5 to $10 a day may be made by any individual, in city or country, with the knowledge of a highly useful discovery, in universal demand, which I will send by return mail, on enclosing to me $1, postage paid, directed to H. S. HOLT, Post Office Box No. 350, Rochester, New York. This is a *first rate* opportunity for students, clerks, invalids, or any young man or young lady out of business, as it is immediately lucrative in any part of the United States. Jan. 13

PATENT AGENCY.

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Models forwarded to the subscriber will be duly attended to, drawings and specifications prepared, and patents procured. Models must be marked with the inventor's name. Those writing from a distance must give the town, county, and State. All transportation of models and letter postage should be prepaid. Those who desire to have their inventions examined, can, by sending a description and rough drawing, with a fee of five dollars, have an examination and opinion as to the patentability of the plan.

AZA ARNOLD, Patent Agent.
Washington, D. C., 9th month 20th, 1852.

References—His Excellency P. Allen, Governor of Rhode Island; Edward Lawton, Collector of Customs, Newport, Rhode Island; Hon. Thomas J. Rusk, U. S. Senate; Hon. Charles T. James, U. S. Senate. Sept. 23—6m

ÆOLIAN PIANO FORTES.

HALLETT, DAVIS, & CO., the long-established and celebrated Piano Forte Manufacturers of Boston, in order the better to accommodate their Southern and Western customers, have recently opened ware rooms at No. 297 Broadway, New York, where a large and full supply of their superior instruments, both with and without Coleman's celebrated Æolian accompaniment, may always be found. The Æolian, by the skill and improvement of Messrs. H. D. & Co., has been divested of the harsh seraphine tone, and the pure pipe or flute tone substituted, giving to it all the sweetness and beauty of the parlor organ. Their Pianos have been too long and favorably known to need commendation—and when united to their Æolian, no sweeter music can be found. Every instrument warranted to give satisfaction, or the whole of the purchase money will be returned, with cost of transportation.

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Aug. 26.

CLEVELAND WATER CURE ESTABLISHMENT.

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T. T. SEELYE, M. D., Proprietor.
Cleveland Water Cure, Jan 1 1853 Jan 6—16t

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Poughkeepsie, N. Y., Jan. 26, 1852. Feb. 6.

From J. Foster, Professor of Natural Philosophy and Mathematics, Union College.

UNION COLLEGE, *November* 24, 1852.

It afforded me no little gratification to learn, some months since, that Mr. C. B. Warring had determined to establish a manufactory of philosophical and chemical apparatus. Mr. W. is a graduate of this college, and, while a student, united high classical attainments with accurate mathematical knowledge, and a very decided taste for the *practical* pursuits of experimental science. During most of the physical course he therefore acted as volunteer assistant, preparing the experiments, and often constructing new articles of apparatus. The knowledge thus acquired has been established and extended by the facilities offered him while in charge of the physical department of Mr. Bartlett's excellent Collegiate School. Such qualifications cannot fail to be appreciated by those who wish to obtain or enlarge a stock of apparatus, and all who feel any interest in the progress of physical science will see how important it is that *such* a man should meet with cordial and efficient encouragement.

Mr. W. has recently furnished, for the physical cabinet here, several articles of new and of most useful form, illustrating statics, dynamics, hydrostatics, and electricity, which, by their beauty, firmness and moderate price, prove that the necessity of sending to Paris for *good apparatus*, in nearly every department, no longer exists.

JOHN FOSTER.

From Charles Bartlett, A. M., Principal of the Poughkeepsie Collegiate School.

COLLEGE HILL, *November* 16, 1852.

DEAR SIR: I have had occasion, during the twenty-five years that I have conducted a boarding school, to purchase and use philosophical and chemical apparatus manufactured in some of the best manufactories in this country and in England; and I have also used some manufactured by yourself, and I am happy to assure you that your apparatus, in completeness of finish and in working power, is superior to any I that have used. Yours, truly,

CHARLES BARTLETT.
Mr. C. B. WARRING

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Varnishes of all kinds.
Linseed Oil, boiled and raw.
Putty, Chalk, Whiting, Lampblack.
American and English Venitian Red, Chrome Red and Yellow, dry.
India Red, Red Lead and Litharge, dry.
Stone, French and Yellow Ochre, dry.
Chrome, Paris, and Brunswick Green, dry. Oct. 14—3m

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DR. COMSTOCK'S *Vocal Gymnasium*, Philadelphia, which has been in successful operation for more than twenty years, is designed for the Promotion of Health, the Cure of Stammering, and the Correction of Lisping and other Defective Articulation, as well as for Improvement in Elocution. Address A. COMSTOCK, M. D.,
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Dr. COMSTOCK is the author of the *American Phonetic Alphabet*, the only *perfect* alphabet that has been given to the world, because it is the only alphabet that has a distinct letter for every articulate sound, and signs for accent, inflection, and intonation. Dr. C has published, in this alphabet, his *System of Elocution*, $1. the *New Testament*, $1.25; the first book of *Pope's Homer's Iliad*, with copious notes, 50 cents; *My Little Geography*, 25 cents; and a number of other works. Aug 12.

THE OXYGEN LAMP.

THE subscribers would respectfully inform the public that they are the sole manufacturers for the original Oxygen Lard or Oil Lamp, as patented by D. Kinnear, Feb. 4th, 1851. This lamp has been before the public for three years, during which time there have been over one hundred thousand sold, and it has received three first premiums and two diplomas.

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Rights for twenty-six different States for sale.

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WILL give prompt attention to all professional business intrusted to his care in the middle and northern part of the State, to the locating of land warrants, purchase and sale of real estate, examination of titles, payment of taxes, &c. Refers to Hon. Samuel Lewis, Cincinnati, Ohio; Col William Keys, Hillsborough, Ohio; Moses Carlow, Esq. Xenia, Ohio. Jan. 22—1y

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Uncle Tom's Cabin for 37½ Cents!

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Dec. 2—4tif

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A New Book for the Friends of Temperance.

THE SENATOR'S SON; or, "The Maine Law a Last Refuge." By Metta Victoria Fuller, author of Fresh Leaves, &c.

This work will contain about 300 pages 12mo, on fine white paper, neatly bound in cloth. Its object is to show the urgent necessity of adopting the Maine Law to stop the progress of Intemperance. To present the subject in its strongest light, the author has adopted the plan of showing under fictitious names the fatal progress and effects of this evil; and, from her reputation as a chaste and powerful writer, a thrilling story may be expected.

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And to the TEN next largest, a splendidly bound copy of GRAHAM, for one year, with five dollar binding.

The list of competitors will be published complete at that time, so that the utmost fairness may be manifest. A statement will also be published on the 10th of June, of those towns which have entered into competition, with the number of subscribers sent from each up to that time.

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P. S. We presume that no postmaster with whom we have done business, nor any Editor with whom we exchange, will, for a moment, doubt that the statements set forth as above, *will be lived up to, to the letter, in all respects*.

Jan. 13—2t G.

THE MUSICAL WORLD AND TIMES.

A LARGE Weekly Journal of sixteen pages, edited by Richard Storrs Willis, and which the best musical composers and writers in this country make their medium of communication with the public, contains, during the year, 208 pages (or $25 worth) of the very best music of all kinds: also, brilliant and instructive Essays on Music; a complete course of familiar Instruction in Harmony, which anybody can understand; a vast amount of attractive musical reading, anecdotes, and sketches of celebrated musicians, of musical history, &c. The most fearless and truthful criticisms of musical publications and performances, and the very pick and cream of Musical News, Novelty, and Incident, both foreign and domestic; the whole forming the most complete and valuable record of Musical Art it is possible to obtain. The wants of Country Choirs, and of ladies wishing for new music, but who are not living near music stores, are especially attended to.

TERMS—One copy, $3; two copies, $5; five copies, $10; and a person sending us a club of five, gets an extra copy for his trouble. Address Dyer & Willis, publishers of the Musical World and Times, 257 Broadway, New York.

☞ ANOTHER MUSICAL JOURNAL.—The subscribers also publish *The Monthly Musical Gazette*, an elegant journal of eight pages, each number containing four pages of music, (making forty-eight pages a year) and a great variety of interesting musical reading matter. *The Monthly Musical Gazette* is designed for the especial benefit of the thousands of music lovers whose musical knowledge and tastes demand easy and simple music, and whose purses require that it should be furnished at the cheapest possible rate.

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We are attracted by the self-evident truths advanced. It contains a great amount of valuable information for those in any manner troubled with the symptoms of Bronchitis or Consumption, with much statistical matter, useful and interesting to all readers.—*Nat. Ægis.*

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An interesting and valuable work; if it is as extensively read as it should be, and its precepts followed, many valuable lives may be saved annually by means of its publication.—*Scientific American.*

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Jan. 6—3t

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